THE CHEATS AND ILLUSIONS OF *Romish Priests* and *Exorcists*.

Discover'd in the

HISTORY OF THE DEVILS of *LOUDUN*:

Being an Account of the

Pretended Possession OF THE URSULINE NUNS, AND OF The Condemnation and Punishment of *URBAN GRANDIER* a Parson of the same Town.

Tantæne Animis Cælestibus Iræ? Virg.

LONDON,
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TO HIS

GRACE

The Most Reverend Father in GOD

THOMAS,

By Divine Providence,

L[d]. Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

May it please Your GRACE;

THE following Sheets contain an Account of a most Remarkable Passage that happen'd in *France* during the Ministry of Cardinal *de Richelieu*; and which gives us a Sketch of the *Arbitrariness* of that *Haughty, Designing* Prelate; of the Malice and Revengeful Spirit of *Popish Priests*;

and of the Siniſter and *Diabolical* Methods whereby a Convent of *Urſuline Nuns* eſtabliſh'd themſelves in the Town of *Loudun*.

This Hiſtory, which was originally written in *French*, has met with a very favourable Reception abroad: And 'tis juſtly preſum'd, That a Tranſlation of it will not only be Entertaining, but likewiſe Uſeful to an *Engliſh Proteſtant Reader*: Eſpecially at this Time of Day, when the *Reſtleſs Papiſts*, and their *Cabal*, are ſecretly endeavouring to undermine our Happy Settlement, and to divert the Courſe of the Succeſſion to the Imperial Crown of theſe Realms, from a *Lawful Proteſtant Heir*, to a *Popiſh Frenchified Pretender*: In Order to bring in *Popery*, and its inſeparable Companion, *Arbitrary Sway*, among us.

The Author of this Tranſlation, (who is a Preſbyter of the Church

of

of *England*) having desir'd me to take Care of its Publication, and to procure it a Patron, I thought I could not better discharge this latter Part of my Trust, than by laying these Sheets at Your GRACE's Feet; whose Zeal for the Advancement and Defence of the *True Religion* did gloriously Shine, notwithstanding the Threatning Storms from a *Popish* Court, not only in the Erecting a Free-School at St. *Martin*'s, adorn'd with a Choice Library, in Opposition to the College of the *Jesuits* in the *Savoy*; but also in Unravelling and Defeating the subtle Diabolical Arts, whereby those Ministers of *Hell* and *Tyranny* endeavour'd to lead astray *Unwary Protestant Youths*. Every Body will easily apprehend, that by this I mean the Famous Conference Your GRACE had with *Pulton*, the *Jesuit*; wherein Your GRACE's Learning, Strong Reasons, and Solid

Judg-

Judgment, gain'd an Immortal Triumph over the Obstinacy and Noise of a *bold fallacious Caviller.*

'Twas this *Apostolical* Zeal, exerted in the most difficult Times, together with your Exemplary Piety, Goodness, Charity, and Forbearing Temper, that gain'd Your GRACE the entire Confidence and Esteem of Two of the Best Princes that ever sway'd the *English* Scepter, King *WILLIAM* and Queen *MARY*, of ever Blessed and Pious Memory: And which induc'd his Late Majesty to raise Your GRACE to that Supream Station you hold in the Church; That by this very Choice all *England* might be convinc'd, how truly he wish'd, and earnestly endeavour'd by all *Gentle* and *Christian*, (which certainly are the most *Efficacious*) Methods to bring Those over to the Establish'd Religion, whose Birth and Education has insensibly

led

led them to Diſſent from it. And indeed, as long as your GRACE is alive, that *Great* and *Good* King is ſure to have, here on Earth, an unexceptionable Witneſs of his *Moral* and *Chriſtian Virtues*; The Liberties of *England*, a Firm Support; And the Church, a Wiſe and Vigilant *Director*, and a moſt Tender *Father*.

That theſe Bleſſings may be long continued to this Happy and Flouriſhing Nation, is the moſt Fervent Wiſh of him, who moſt gladly lays hold on this Opportunity to ſubſcribe himſelf,

May it pleaſe Your GRACE,

Your GRACE's

Moſt Humble,

moſt Faithful,

and moſt Obedient Servant,

led them to Different [illegible]
indeed, as long as your GRACE
is alive, that Great and Good Man
is sure to have here on Earth an
unexceptionable Witness [illegible]
and Christian Prudence [illegible] Liberties
of England a Friendship [illegible] And the
Church, a Wise and Vigilant Governour,
and a most Tender Father.

That their [illegible]
continued [illegible] and Flou-
rishing Nation, is the most Fervent
Wish of him, who most gladly lays
hold on this Opportunity to Subscribe
himself,

May it please Your GRACE,

Your GRACE'*s*

Most Humble,

most Dutiful,

and most Obedient Servant.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

Devils of Loudun:

Or, an Account of the

Possession of the *Ursuline Nuns.*

AND THE

Condemnation and Punishment of *URBAN GRANDIER*, a Parson of the same Town.

BOOK I.

Sect. 1. THere is no doubt but that particular *Relations* of the nature *of those which are contain'd in this Book*, would have been much better receiv'd, and have made more impression, whilst they had the grace of Novelty, than when after a long course of time they seem to have been buried in Darkness and

Oblivion. Neverthelefs it may not now be thought mproper to produce and revive them, fince they deferve it, both by their Importance, and their Singularity; and the only reafon why they were buried in Silence, is, becaufe Arbitrarinefs and Tyranny have ftopt the Mouths of thofe who would have attempted to entertain the Publick with them, and fet the Truth thereof before their Eyes. 'Tis upon this Motive, that becaufe at this time one may fpeak freely, and without conftraint, that now are publifh'd the long and fatal Intrigues of a Convent of Nuns, and a great number of Ecclefiafticks, fupported by a party of the Magiftrates and Inhabitants of a Town, and favour'd by the Court. Thefe Intrigues have been of great Confequence; forafmuch as they have caus'd a Parifh Prieft to be Condemn'd to be Burnt alive; and that they tended to eftablifh in *France* certain Maxims which would fubject the People to a real Inquifition. They have been peculiar, and of a ftrange fingularity, feeing that Devils are immediately concern'd, or that 'tis pretended that they did intermeddle, and that they have poffeft and caus'd all thefe Nuns to act their part. In fine, this Hiftory appears fo much the more confiderable, that the Facts it relates have been continued a great many years, that they have had for Spectators and Witneffes, a Number of Perfons illuftrious by their Rank, and by their Merit; that there was never a Relation of the fame Nature, more clofely furnifh'd with Circumftances, nor better attended with all neceffary Proofs; and that it gives a clear and exact Idea of the Sentiments that one ought to have of the pretended Diabolical Poffeffions, of the Apparitions of Devils, and of the Miracles that were done upon thefe Occafions. It difcovers alfo at the fame

time the Obliquity of Mans Nature, and how far 'tis capable to go, when 'tis once engag'd in an evil Design.

*Sect.*2. Although the History of the Martyrdom of Saint *Ursula*, and the Eleven Thousand Virgins which accompanied her, be liable to many contradictions, and that the greater part of the Learned doubt of its Veracity; This Saint has not been omitted to be Canoniz'd, to whose Honour the Beatified *Angela* of *Bresse* founded in the last Age in *Italy*, an Order of Nuns according to the Rule of Saint *Augustine*, which was approv'd by Pope *Gregory* the Thireenth, in the Year 1572. And since, in the Year 1614. *Magdalene l'Huillier* introduc'd it into *France*, with the approbation of Pope *Paul* the Fifth, by a Monastery which she founded at *Paris*, whence this Order spreading it self by degrees through all the Kingdom, there was establish'd in the Year 1626. a Convent at *Loudun*, which is a large Town, tho' ill peopled; situated between the Provinces of *Poitou*, *Tourain* and *Anjou*, and which separates them all three, without having anciently made any part of them, or having had dependance upon either of them.

Sect. 3. In this Place this Society, although as yet very small, was in great want, and very destitute of necessary conveniencies for their subsistance. It was then part of an Order, so little distant from its Birth, that it was not so rich and wealthy, as now it is at this Day, since a few more years has given it the leasure to consider of its Affairs, and to provide more advantageously for its establishment. It was compos'd of Maidens of very good Families, Noble and Ignoble, but who were not rich, or who would not give considerable Portions to those, whom they put out of their Houses to ease

themſelves of the Charge. Therefore theſe Maidens were lodg'd in a hir'd private Houſe, which was of no great extent, and according to their Inſtitution, took Boarders to teach them, and from their Penſions drew part of their Maintenance. The Houſe where they dwelt belong'd to *Mouſſaut du Freſne*. The Prior *Mouſſaut* his Brother, was their firſt Confeſſor, but was not long ſo, for he died ſome time before the diſcourſe begun, concerning the Diabolical Poſſeſſion, of which we are to treat.

Sect. 4. The younger-ſort of theſe Maidens, who were of a very chearful Spirit, and who ſought nothing but to divert themſelves, as much as the compaſs of their Confinement would allow; took an Occaſion by this Mans Death (and the Conceit which ſome Perſons had, that Spirits haunted the Houſe where they dwelt) to riſe in the Night, and make a Noiſe in the *Granaries*, and to give themſelves the Paſtime to fright the young Boarders; Some alſo of the more ſimple and aged of the Nuns (to whom the others had not dar'd to diſcover the ſport) conceiv'd a great deal of fear: This encourag'd the Actreſſes even to get upon the top of the Houſe, which was not difficult at *Loudun*, where moſt of the Roofs are built in ſuch a manner, that they admit of an eaſie acceſs. They came at length to enter into the Chambers of the Boarders, to take their Petticoats off from their Beds; and at laſt to practice every thing that might ſerve to give them a Divertiſement, and to befool the Boarders and the other Nuns. One of the Boarders at that time between Seventeen and Eighteen years of Age, nam'd *Mary Aubin*, who was admitted into the Pleaſures and Secrets of theſe Actreſſes, ſerv'd to terrifie the others by the fear which

ſhe

ſhe ſeem'd to have, eſpecially when theſe Sprights came into their Chamber, the Doors whereof had been well bolted, but they had ſince been ſoftly open'd by her, who conſtantly related this Prank after the ſame manner, to her moſt intimate Friends, till ſhe was almoſt Sixty Five years old, when ſhe died.

Sect. 5. After the Death of *Mouſſaut*, *John Mignon*, Prieſt and Canon of the Collegiate Church of Saint *Croſſe*, in *Loudun*, was choſen to be the Confeſſor of the *Vrſulines*. The Elder ſort of them expreſt to him the cauſe of their Fear, and the Younger made him a Confident of their Sport. This Man was an Intriguer, Malicious and Ambitious, and had then different Paſſions working in him. He propos'd to himſelf, not only to ſuffer the ſport to continue, but to Authorize it, and to lend it a helping Hand, and to try if he could not make uſe of it, which might ſerve him to revenge himſelf of his Enemies, and to gain a reputation of Piety and ſanctity, to which he was a great Pretender. But that the Deſigns of the Contrivers of this Tragical Piece, may more throughly be diſcover'd, we muſt bring the principal Perſon on the Stage, who was moſtly concern'd in the Tragedy.

Sect. 6. Vrban Grandier was a Prieſt, Born of an honeſt Family, the Son of *Peter Grandier*, and Nephew of *Claudius Grandier*, who was alſo a Prieſt. Theſe *Vrſuline* Nuns, in the time of their being poſſeſs'd, ſaid, that *Vrban Grandier* had learnt Magick of his Father, and his Uncle; but the Inhabitants of *Xaintes*, where they had dwelt, diſſipated this ſlander by the good Teſtimony they gave of their Lives and Converſation. He perform'd the courſe of his Studies under the Jeſuits of *Bourdeaux*, who obſerving in him very conſiderable Endowments,

took an affection to him, and procur'd to him the parsonage of Saint *Peter*, in the Market of *Loudun*, which is in the presentation of the Jesuits of *Poictiers*. He had also obtain'd a Prebend in the Chapter of the Church of Saint *Crosse*. The uniting of these Benefices in one Person, who was not of that Province, expos'd him to the Envy of many Churchmen, who would have been well satisfied with one of the two. This he was sufficiently sensible of, when he saw himself accus'd, for he often said to his Friends, that one part of those of that Order, who had declar'd themselves against him, had a Quarrel with his Benefices, rather than his Person. He was of a tall Stature, and of a good Presence, of a steady Mind, and subtil Wit, always Comely and well drest, never going but in a long Garment; this outward neatness was accompanied with a polite Wit; He exprest himself with much Ease and Eloquence; He preach'd often, and acquited himself in that Employment incomparably better than most of the *Monks* who went up into the Pulpit. There is a *Funeral Oration* of his, upon the Death of the Illustrious *Scevola* of Saint *Martha*, which is a very Eloquent Piece, and sets forth the fineness of his Genius. He was gentle and courteous to his Friends, but proud and haughty towards his Enemies. He was Jealous of his Rank, and never yielded any thing of his interests, repelling injuries with so much vigour, that he exasperated the Spirits of those whom he might have gain'd by taking other Methods. In the mean while he was expos'd to many Enemies, his haughtiness had rais'd him a great number, and the extraordinary inclination he had to the Courting of Women, had made him still many more: It was not the Rivals that he was to fear, but the Fathers and

and the Mothers provok'd and enrag'd by the Evil Reputation, which his frequent Viſits had drawn upon their Families.

Sect. 7. In the year 1602 he had a Proceſs before the Official of *Poitiers* againſt a Prieſt nam'd *le Mounier*, and the Twenty Firſt of *April* in the ſame Year, he obtain'd a Sentence againſt him, which he caus'd to be executed with much Rigour, to the end that he might terrifie thoſe that ſhould attempt to give him Trouble in time to come; whereat *le Mounier* continued ſo much provok'd, that when he ſaw him accus'd of Sacriledge and Irreligion, he became a Witneſs himſelf, and even thunder'd out Monitories againſt him by the Orders of *Laubardemont*, a Commiſſary ſent by the Court, to take Cognizance of this Affair.

Sect. 8. Some time after *Grandier* had another Suit againſt the *Canons* of St. *Croſs*, upon the occaſion of a Houſe which he contended for with the Chapter; *Mignon* powerfully oppos'd his Pretenſions, who was in Credit for the ſake of his Family, and he was well skill'd in Matters Benificiary, and had conceiv'd a great jealouſy againſt *Grandier*, whoſe Proceedings he always oppos'd. But although this Canon had ſollicited the Suit with much Heat, the Chapter notwithſtanding loſt their Cauſe. *Grandier* triumph'd and inſulted over *Mignon* with ſo much Pride, that he had a ſenſible Reſentment of it.

Sect. 9. *Barot*, the Uncle of *Mignon*, and Preſident of the General Aſſeſſors, a rich Man, and Childleſs, and by Conſequence much reſpected and careſſed by his Heirs, had alſo a Quarrell with *Grandier*, who treated him with the utmoſt Haughtineſs, and as a pitiful Fellow, which caus'd *Barot's* Family to conceive ſo great an animoſity againſt

Grandier, that every one of them put himſelf forward to ſhew their Reſentments, the better to make their Court to their Kinſman.

Sect. 10. But all this came nothing near the Diſpleaſure of *Trinquant* the Kings Attorney and who was alſo the Uncle of *Mignon*. He had a Daughter which *Grandier* had viſited too familiarly; ſhe became ſickly and languiſhing; She had an intimate Friend named *Martha le Pelletier*, whoſe Fortune being very mean, ſhe engag'd to ſerve her upon this occaſion, and was always near her during her indiſpoſition. This Friend was ſo affectionate and faithful to her, that at the Expence of her own Reputation, ſhe charg'd her ſelf with the Child, and took care to provide it a Nurſe; but this kept not Perſons from believing that this Child was rather the Iſſue of her, who had been ſo long retir'd and languiſhing, than of her who had been charitable enough to be willing in a Caſe of neceſſity, to own her ſelf to be the Mother. *Trinquant* having a knowledge of the Rumors which ran about to the diſadvantage of his Daughter, caus'd *Martha le Pelletier* to be put in Priſon, to oblige her to make a Declaration concerning the Birth of the Child, which ſhe had put into the hands of the Nurſe; She own'd her ſelf to be the Mother; and promiſed to bring it up with much care, that Juſtice ſhould have no hold of her. The publick laugh'd at this Proceeding, the Declaration was not believ'd, and *Trinquant* remain'd but the more mortified.

Sect. 11. This Affair was upon theſe Terms, when *Barot* was ſo ill treated by *Grandier*, which was the occaſion of the meeting together of *Trinquant*, *Mignon* and of *Menuau* the King's Advocate, who was the Kinſman, and intimate Friend of *Mignon*, and who was ſeiz'd with a violent Love Paſſion,

ſion, wherein he had *Grandier* for his Rival, and that a Favourite Rival; It was there reſolv'd to deſtroy him, or at leaſt to drive him out of the Country of *Loudun*. A little while after, there was produc'd againſt him an Information before the Official of *Poitiers*, in the name of the Promoter; They accus'd him for having debauch'd ſome Women, and ſome Maidens; for being impious and profane; for never ſaying his *Breviary*, and for having layn with a Woman even in his own Church. His Accuſers were *Cherbonneau*, and *Bougreau*, Two pitiful Fellows of the very Scum of the People. The Official having receiv'd the Information, commiſſion'd *Lewis Chauvet*, Lieutenant Civil, and Arch-prieſt of Saint *Marcolle*, and of the Country of *Loudun*, to inform joyntly with him.

Sect. 12. In the mean time, *Duthibaut*, a rich and powerful Man, being in the Intereſts of the Adverſaries of *Grandier*, ſpoke very diſadvantageouſly of him in the Preſence of the *Marquis du Bellai*, and made bloody Reproaches againſt him. This was reported to *Grandier*, who teſtified his Reſentment in ſuch cutting Terms, that *Duthibaut* lifted up the Cane which he had in his hand, and ſtruck him, although he was attir'd in his Prieſtly Habit, and ready to enter into the Church of Saint *Croſs*, whither, he went to aſſiſt at the Service. *Grandier* being inrag'd at this Affront and believing he ſhould not have right done him ſo ſoon in that Province, as at *Paris*, he choſe to go thither with his Complaints. But whilſt he made this journey, they inform'd againſt him at *Loudun*, and there proceeded to the Hearing of inconſiderable Witneſſes whom they had procur'd. *Trinquant* made Oath firſt to encourage the others, and gave

gave Caution in the Action of the Informers. The Information being made, it was ſent to the Biſhop of *Poitiers*, near whoſe Perſon the ſecret Adverſaries of *Grandier* had very powerful Friends. Beſides this, he happen'd to infringe the Rights of the Biſhop, in giving a Diſpenſation of the Banns for the Marriage of *Delagarde*, who dwelt in the Town of *Mons*. His Enemies knew ſo well how to aggravate this Encroachment, and to prepoſſeſs the Mind of that Biſhop, that he deliver'd out againſt him a Warrant for the ſeizing of his Perſon, conceiv'd in theſe Words.

Sect. 13. Henry Lewis Chateigner *of* Rochpozai *by divine Mercy, Biſhop of* Poitiers, *having ſeen the Accuſations and Informations given to us by the Arch-prieſt of* Loudun, *againſt* Urban Grandier *Prieſt, and Parſon of Saint* Peter *in the Market of* Loudun, *by Virtue of a Commiſſion granted by us to the aforeſaid Arch-prieſt, and in his abſence to the Prior of* Chaſſeignes; *Having alſo ſeen the Concluſions of our Promoter thereupon: We have ordain'd, and do ordain, that the ſaid* Grandier, *ſo accus'd, be brought without Tumult into the Priſon of our Epiſcopal Palace at* Poitiers, *if he can be apprehended, if not, he ſhall be cited at his Houſe by the chief Apparitor, Prieſt or Clark tonſurate, to appear within Three Days; And moreover by the chief Sergeant Royal, with the Requeſt of the ſecular Arm: and to whom, and to every one of them, we give Power and Commandment to perform the ſame, whatſoever Oppoſitions or Appeals notwithſtanding, concerning this Matter, and the ſaid* Grandier *being heard, to take by our Promoter ſuch Concluſions againſt him, as he ſhall ſee fit to be done. Given at* Diſſai *the Twenty Second Day of* October. 1629. *Thus ſign'd in the Original,* Henry Lewis *Biſhop of* Poitiers.

Sect. 14. *Grandier* was then at *Paris*, when the

War-

Warrant was deliv'd out againſt him, he had caſt himſelf at the King's Feet, and complain'd of the Blows with the Cane, which *Dubithaut* had given him publickly; The King had referr'd this Affair to the Parliament, that a Proceſs might be made and concluded againſt *Duthibaut*, his Action having appear'd very inſolent. and worthy of a ſevere Correction; but he made uſe of violent Recriminations againſt his Adverſary, he accus'd him of being a Scandalous Perſon, of an ill Life, and very Criminal, and produc'd for the Proof of theſe Accuſations, the Warrant for this Apprehenſion which was newly granted by the Biſhop of of *Poitiers*, which was the Cauſe that the Court, before Juſtice was done, ſent *Grandier* back to the Biſhop, to clear himſelf of the Crimes laid to his Charge. He return'd to *Loudun*, and in a few Days came to *Poitiers*, to put himſelf into a Condition for his Defence, but could not do it; for he was no ſooner Arrived, but he was arreſted Priſoner by an Uſher of the Court, named *Chatri*. Although it was the Fifteenth of *November*, and that the Biſhops Priſon was cold and dark, he remain'd however there more than two Months, and began to believe, that he would never get out of this Affair. His Enemies at leaſt ſeem'd very much induc'd to think ſo; *Duthibaut* thought himſelf ſecur'd from his Proſecutions, the Iſſue whereof could not but be very troubleſome to him; and *Barot* caus'd a Devolution to be executed upon his Benifice, to the Profit of *Iſmael Boulieau* a Prieſt and one of his Heirs.

Sect. 15. In the mean while, the eagerneſs of the Conſpirators happen'd to abate, for fear of the Expences; for altho' they were all very Wealthy, yet each of them excus'd themſelves, as much

as

as 'twas possible, from defraying the Charges, which could not be small, the Instruction of the Process being made at *Poitiers*; where the Witnesses were oblig'd to make a personal Appearance, to give their Informations, and to be confronted to the Person Accus'd. But the Animosity of *Trinquant* was more powerful than that of all the rest; he in the end overcame those Difficulties, and acted so, that his Associates contributed to the Expence as well as himself, and that the Prosecution was not given over.

Sect. 16. The principal Article of the Accusation could not be made good. It was laid to *Grandier*'s charge, That he had Debauch'd Women and Maidens; but there were no Plaintiffs produc'd; these Women and Maids were not nam'd; there was not any Witness that Swore directly to this Fact; and the greater part acknowledg'd, at last, That they never heard a word concerning many things which they found writ in the Informations. At last, it being necessary to proceed to the Judgment of the Process; there was admitted into the number of the Judges, the Advocate *Richard*, who was *Trinquant*'s Kinsman; and the Bishop was beset by the secret Adversaries of *Grandier*, who ceas'd not to set him out in the blackest Colours, and who knew how to mix so much Probability with their Calumnies, that on the 3d of *January* 1630, he was Condemn'd to Fast with Bread and Water, by way of Penance, every *Friday* during three Months; and interdicted from Divine Offices, in the Diocess of *Poitiers*, for five Years; and in the Town of *Loudun*, for ever.

Sect. 17. On both sides there was an Appeal from this Sentence; *Grandier* appeal'd to the Arch-

bishop

biſhop of *Bourdeaux*; and his Adverſaries, in the Name of the Promoter of the Officiality, by Writ of Error, to the Parliament of *Paris*; to the intent only to Perplex him, and to bring him into ſuch a Condition, as not to be able to undergo the burden of all the Affairs, with which they ſought to overwhelm him. But they ſucceeded not as they deſir'd; for he prepar'd himſelf, and had his Cauſe Pleaded before the Parliament. But it being neceſſary to hear yet a greater number of Witneſſes, who dwelt in a Place very far off, the Court remitted the Cogniſance thereof to the Preſidial of *Poitiers*, to judge definitively. The Lieutenant Criminal of *Poitiers*, gave Inſtruction for renewing the Proceſs, as well by the Re-examination and Confronting of the Witneſſes, as by the Fulmination of a Monitory. This Inſtruction was not favourable to his Accuſers; there were found Contradictions in the Witneſſes, who would yet perſiſt; and there were many others, who ingenuouſly acknowledg'd, That they had been tamper'd with: One of the Accuſers deſiſted from the Action which he had begun; and declar'd, with ſome Witneſſes, who alſo gave over, That they had been put on, and ſolicited by *Trinquant*. At the ſame time, it came to the knowledge of *Mechin* and *Boulieau* Prieſts, That they were made to ſay, in their Depoſition, things that they had never thought of; they were deſirous to diſown them by Writings under their Hands; and that of *Mechin* being found, we need not fear to inſert it here, altho' it be long, as well as ſome other Writings, which ſhall be inſerted hereafter; becauſe we believe that this Exactneſs will contribute to the Satisfaction of the Reader, and leave no cauſe to doubt of the truth of thoſe things which are contain'd in this Hiſtory.

Sect. 18. " I *Gervase Mechin* Priest, Vicar of
" the Church of St. *Peter*, in the Market of *Loudun*, do certifie by this present Writing, and
" Sign'd with my Hand for the discharge of my
" Conscience, upon a certain Rumour which is
" caus'd to be spread abroad, That in an Information made by *Giles Robert* Archpriest, against
" *Urban Grandier* Priest, Parson of St. *Peters*; in
" which Information, the said *Robert* solicited me
" to depose, that I have said, That I found the
" said *Grandier* lying with Women and Maids all
" at length in St. *Peter*'s Church, the Doors being
" shut: Also, That several times, at undue hours,
" both by Day and by Night, I had seen Maids
" and Women come to find the said *Grandier* in
" his Chamber; and that some of the said Women
" continued there, from one of the Clock in the
" Afternoon, till two or three in the Morning;
" and caus'd their Suppers to be brought thither
" by their Maid-Servants, who immediately retir'd: Also, That I had seen the said *Grandier*
" in the Church, the Doors being open; and some
" Women being entred there, he shut them. Not
" desiring that such Reports should any longer
" continue, I declare by these Presents, That I
" have never seen, nor found the said *Grandier*
" with Women, or Maids, in the Church, the
" Doors being shut; nor alone with them by
" themselves, but when he has spoken to them,
" they were in Company, and the Doors wide
" open: And as touching the Posture, I think it
" sufficiently clear'd by my Confrontation, and that
" the said *Grandier* and Women were sat down a
" good distance one from the other: As also, I
" never saw Women and Maids enter into the said
" *Grandier*'s Chamber, neither by Day nor Night.
Indeed,

"Indeed, 'tis true, I have heard a great many Peo-
"ple come and go very late at Night, but I can-
"not ſay who it was; alſo, That there lyeth al-
"ways a Brother of the ſaid *Grandier* near his
"Chamber; and that I have neither known, that
"Women or Maids have cauſ'd their Suppers to
"be brought thither; neither have I depos'd, That
"I had never ſeen him ſay his *Breviary*, becauſe
"that would be contrary to truth; foraſmuch as
"that he borrow'd mine ſeveral times, which he
"took, and ſaid his Hours. And in like manner,
"I declare, That I never ſaw him ſhut the Doors
"of the Church; and that in all the Diſcourſes
"which I ſaw him have with the Women, I never
"beheld any thing unbeſeeming, nor that he did
"even any ways touch them, but that they only
"ſpoke together; and that if there be found in
"my Depoſition, any thing contrary to what is
"ſaid above, it is contrary to my knowledge;
"and it was never Read to me, leſt I ſhould not
"have Sign'd. This is what I have ſaid to give a
"teſtimony to the Truth. Made the laſt Day of
"*October*, 1630; Signed thus, *G. Mechin*.

Sect. 19. The Preſidial of *Poitiers* gave his Judgment the 25th of *May* 1631. whereby *Grandier* was ſent away Abſolv'd, for the preſent, of the Accuſation made againſt him. He triumph'd and inſulted over his Adverſaries with ſo much Haughtineſs, as if he had been wholly clear of this Buſineſs. In the mean time, it was neceſſary that he ſhould preſent himſelf before the Tribunal of the Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux*, to whom he had appeal'd, and that he might obtain there a Sentence of Juſtification. This Prelate, a little time after that this Judgment had been given at *Poitiers*, came to viſit his Abbey of St. *Jouin les Marnes*, which is but three

three Leagues from *Loudun*. *Grandier* prepar'd himſelf to appear before him; and his Adverſaries, who ſeem'd to have loſt their Courage, did heartily Defend themſelves. This is the Sentence of Abſolution, which the Archbiſhop pronounc'd, after he had proceeded to a new Inſtruction of the Proceſs.

Sect. 20. " *Henry d'Eſcoubleau de Sourdis*, by the " Grace of God Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux*, Primate " of *Aquitain*, To all Perſons, to whom theſe pre- " ſent Letters ſhall come, Greeting. Know ye, " That a Proceſs being begun between *Urban Gran-* " *dier* Prieſt and Appellant, from the Sentence gi- " ven by the Moſt Reverend the Biſhop of *Poitiers*, " the 3d of *January* 1630, and from all that which " enſued thereupon on the one part, and *James* " *Cherbonneau*, joint Promoter of the Officiality, " cited to Appear on the other part; (ſaving that " their qualities may be prejudicial to either) our " Sentence of the 30th of *August* laſt, with the " Pieces there mention'd, being ſeen by us; the " Examinations given by *Giles Robert* Archprieſt, " *Gervaſe Mechin*, and *Boulieau* Prieſts; Our Sen- " tence given upon a Petition, preſented to us by " the ſaid *Grandier* the 15th of *October* laſt, at the " bottom whereof is our Decree; and another " Petition, which the ſaid *Grandier* had preſented " us the 3d of this preſent Month; A Petition " preſented to us by *James Caille*, Porter to the " Sieur *de la Motte* of *Champdenier*, the 4th of the " ſaid Month, our Decree being at the bottom " thereof. Our Verbal Proceſs of the 7th of the " ſaid Month, containing the Interrogatories put " by us to the ſaid *Caille*, and the Anſwers made " by him; Our Judgment of the ſaid Fourth Day " of this Month; The Monitory deliver'd by us

" to

"to our Promoter, with the Certificate of the
"Publication which was made in the Town of
"*Loudun*; Another Petition presented to us by
"the said *Grandier* the Seventeenth of the said
"Month, and our Decree thereupon, with the De-
"terminations of our Promoter, to whom the whole
"has been communicated; All being view'd and
"consider'd, and the Advice of the Counsel taken
"thereupon after the Invocation of the *Holy Ghost*.
"We by our Sentence and Judgment definitive,
"have disanull'd, and do disanul the said Sentence;
"from which there is made an Appeal, and for
"want of other Proof made by our Promoter,
"have dismist, and do dismiss the said Appellant,
"absolv'd from the Crimes and Offences laid to
"his Charge, and have taken off definitively the
"Interdiction *a Divinis*, mention'd in the said De-
"cree, Injoyning him, that he behave himself or-
"derly and modestly in his Charge, according to
"the Holy Decrees, and Canonical Constitutions,
"without Prejudice to his Recovery of Satisfaction
"for Damages, and Interests, and Restitution of the
"Profits of his Benefices, in such manner as he shall
"think good. Made by us at our Palace belonging
"to the Abbey of Saint *Jouin les Marnes*, the Twen-
"tieth of *November*. 1631. Signed *Henry de Sour-*
"*dis* Archbishop of *Bourdeaux*, and pronounc'd by
"us the Register, to the said *Grandier*, who was
"then in the same Abbey the Day and Year above
"mention'd.

Sect. 21. The Archbishop considering the animosity, and contrivances of the Enemies of *Grandier*, and having an esteem for him, for the sake of his good qualities, advis'd him to change his Benefices, and to withdraw himself from a place, where so powerful a conspiracy was

made againſt him. But he was not capable of following ſuch wholeſome advice, both Love and Hatred had too much blinded him, he hated his Enemies with too great a paſſion to ſatisfie them in that Point; But he was yet more violently poſſeſt by Love; and although this was divided towards different Objects, there was one nevertheleſs, which was the true Subject of his tender Affections, to which his Heart was ty'd by ſuch ſtrong bands, that far from being able to break them, he had not the power to remove himſelf any diſtance from her. He return'd then to *Loudun*, with a Branch of Laurel in his Hand, as an Enſign of his Victory.

Sect. 22. Perſons that were indifferently concern'd, were ſcandaliz'd at his Conduct, wherein he ſhew'd ſo little Modeſty; his Enemies were enrag'd, and his own Friends diſapprov'd it. He took poſſeſſion of his Benefices, and ſcarcely gave himſelf Leiſure to breath; ſo that being wholly fill'd with the Reſentment of the Injury that had been done him by *Duthibaut*, he begun his Suit againſt him, and drove it ſo far, that he obtain'd a Decree from the Chamber of *Tournelle*, whither *Duthibaut* was ſent for, and reprov'd, and was condemn'd to divers Fines and Reparations, and to pay the Charge of the Proceſs.

Sect. 23. *Grandiers* not being ſatisfied with the right he had done himſelf in this Affair, reſolv'd to carry on his Revenge, as far as he could legally do it, and he began to ſue his Secret Enemies for his Reparations, Damages and Intereſts, and for the Reſtitution of the Profits of his Benefices, according to the Sentence of the Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux*. It was in vain that his principal friends would

would have diſſwaded him upon the Conſideration of what had already happen'd to him, which ought to make him know what his Enemies were like to do, if he attempted every way to drive them to Extremities, and to intereſt their Purſe, at which they would not be leſs ſenſible, than they had ſhew'd themſelves in what concern'd their Reputation: But his Stars drew him to a Precipice; Divine Providence, whoſe Ways are impenetrable, would puniſh him for his Pride and Debauchery, and ſuffer, at the ſame time to appear upon the Theater of the World, one of the Tragical Acts, which falſe Zeal, or Impiety cauſe to be repreſented there from time to time; and which never fail to find in the Credulity of the People an Approbation and Applauſe, which the Experience of what is paſt, ought to hinder them from giving ſo lightly, and which are the evident Signs of the Weakneſs of Man's Underſtanding.

Sect. 24. When *there* was to be choſen a new Confeſſor for the *Urſuline Nuns*, *Grandier* had been propos'd; His Enemies nois'd it abroad, that he was very deſirous to be pitch'd upon; but that he was rejected becauſe of his evil Manners, and that the Prioreſs had a great Diſpute with one of his intimate Friends upon that Subject. But there are many Perſons who writ to the contrary, and that the *Nuns* had caus'd him to be treated with, upon the deſign they had to deſire him to be their Confeſſor, which he abſolutely refus'd, although he had been very much ſollicited. It is at leaſt certain that theſe Maidens had dwelt Seven or Eight Years at *Loudun*, without his having given them any Viſit; and in the Year 1634, when he and they were brought Face to Face, it appear'd that they had never ſeen him. Father *Tranquille* has alſo own'd

it in one of his Books, that *Grandier* had never intermeddled in their Concerns. There is then no Likelihood that after he had so exceedingly slighted them, he should have a Design to become their Confessor, or that he ever propos'd it to them.

Sect. 25. The Report of the Possession was a great while whisper'd about the Town, before it broke out. The Secret could not be so well kept, but that some Knowledge of what past within the Convent spread abroad; There was made the Experiment of all the Sleights of managing the Body, which they intended to make use of; There *Mignon* set in order the Springs of his Intreagues to have them play, when they should be in a Condition; He caus'd his Schollars to be exercis'd in feigning to fall into Convulsions, to make Contorsions and Postures of their Bodies, to the End they might gain a Habit, and he forget nothing for their Instruction, to make them able to appear true *Demoniacks*. 'Twas believ'd that he kept some of the simple and overcredulous *Nuns* in their Error, and in the Fear which they had at first, and that by Degrees he insinuated into them that which he was desirous they should at last strongly believe, and which 'twas thought they really did so; How little Resemblance soever of Truth there might be in this Imposture, He drew others into the Party, who had no Knowledge of it in the Beginning; He secur'd himself of the Fidelity of all those who were engag'd as well by Oaths, as by the Consideration of the Interest of the Glory of GOD, and the Catholick Church, persuading them, that it would draw great Advantages by this Enterprize, which would serve to confound the *Hereticks*, of whom the Town was very full; and be rid of a Pernicous Curate, who by his Debaucheries had dis-

dishonour'd his Character, who was also a Secret *Heretick*, and who drew a Numerous Company of Souls into Hell; Adding, that their Convent would not fail, to obtain by this Means an extraordinary Reputation, and that Gifts and Alms that would be bestow'd, would bring a great Plenty, which was then wanting; In a Word, he forgot nothing that he believ'd would contribute to his Designs, and when he saw that the Business was very near to the Point of Perfection which he wish'd, he began to exercise the Superior, and Two other *Nuns*; He call'd at first to his Exorcisms only *Peter Barre*, Curate of Saint *James* of *Chinon*, and *Canon* of Saint *Meme*. He was a *Bigot* and an *Hypocrite*, almost of the same Character with *Mignon*, but much more Melancholick and more Enthusiastick, and who practis'd a Thousand Extravagancies, that he might pass for a Saint. He came to *Loudun* at the Head of his Parishioners, whom he led in Procession, coming all the Way on Foot, that he might the better put a Gloss upon his Hypocrisy. After that these Two pretend-Exorcists had busied themselves together very privately for Ten or Twelve Days, they believ'd this Act was in a Condition to be expos'd upon the Stage to the Eyes of the Publick and for this Effect, they resolv'd to inform the Magistrate of the Lamentable Condition of these *Nuns*, to whom they employ'd *Granger* Curate of *Venier*, a Man malicious and impudent, fear'd and hated of all the Priests in the Country, because being in Favour with the Bishop of *Poitiers*, he many times did them ill Offices with him; He had never any Difference with *Grandier*; But had even receiv'd some Services of him, which did not hinder him from suffering himself to be tamper'd with by *Mig-*

non and *Trinquant*, and entring openly into the League with them. He went then on *Monday* the Eleventh of *October*, 1532, to find *William de Cerizai de la Gueriniere* Bailiff of the *Loudunois*, and *Lewis Chauvet* Lieutenant Civil, and he intreated them, on the Behalf of the Exorcists, to come to the Convent of the *Ursulines* to see the Two *Nuns* possessed by evil Spirits, representing to them that it concern'd them to be present at the Exorcisms, and to see the strange and almost incredible Effects of this Possession. He told them, that there was one who answer'd in Latin to all Questions that could be put to Her, although she had no Knowledge of the Language before this Accident. The Two Magistrates went to the Convent, either to assist at the Exorcisms, and to Authorize them, if they found themselves oblig'd, or to stop the Course of this Illusion, if they judg'd the Possession to be feign'd and counterfeited. *Mignon* met them attir'd with his Surplice and Tippit, He told them that the *Nuns* had been disturb'd for Fifteen Days with Apparitions and frightful Visions, and that after that, the Mother Superior, and Two other *Nuns* had been visibly possest for Eight or Ten Days by evil Spirits, but that they had been driven out of their Bodies, as well by the Ministry of him. as of *Barre*, and some other Religious *Carmelites*; But that on *Saturday* Night the Sixteenth of the Month, the Mother Superior nam'd *Jane Belsiel*, the Daughter of the late *Baron* of *Cose*, of the Country of *Xaintonge*, and a lay Sister, the Daughter of *Maignoux*, had been tormented afresh, and that they were possest again by the same Spirits; That they had discover'd in their exorcising; that this was done by a new Pact or Covenant, the Symbol or Mark whereof were Roses,

as the Token of the First had been Three black Thornes. That the evil Spirits had not been willing to name themselves during the First Possession, but that he who then possest the Mother Prioress call'd himself the Enemy of GOD, and said, his Name was *Astaroth*, and that he who possest the Lay Sister, nam'd himself *Sabulun*. At last he told them that the possess'd were now taking their Rest, and he desir'd them to deferr the Visit to another Hour of the Day. These Two Magistrates were ready to go out, when a *Nun* came to give them Notice, that the Persons possess'd were again tormented; They went up with *Mignon* and *Granger* into an upper Chamber, furnish'd with Seven little Beds, in one of which lay the Lay Sister, and the Prioress in another. This last was encompass'd with some *Carmelites*, with some of the *Nuns* of the Convent, with *Mathurin Rosseau* Priest and Canon of Saint *Cross*, and *Manouri* the Chirurgion. The Superior had no sooner discover'd the Two Magistrates, but she had violent Commotions, and perform'd strange Actions; She made a Noise which was like to that of a Pig; She sunk down into the Bed, and contracted her self into the Postures and Grimaces of a Person who is out of his Wits; A *Carmelite* Friar was at her right Hand, and *Mignon* at her left, the last of these put his Two Fingers into her Mouth and presupposing that she was possess'd, us'd many Conjurations, and spake to the Devil, who answer'd him after this Manner, in their First Dialogue. *Mignon* demanded, *Propter quam Causam ingressus es in Corpus hujus Virginis? For what Reason hast thou enter'd into the Body of this Virgin?* Answ. *Causa Animositatis; Upon the Account of Animosity.* Q. *Per quod Pactum? By what Pact?* A. *Per Flores, By Flowers.* Q. *Quales?*

les? What Flowers? A. *Rosas. Roses.* Q. *Quis misit? Who sent them?* A. *Urbanus. Urban.* She pronounc'd not this Word before she had stammer'd many times, as if she had done it by constraint. Q. *Dic Cognomen. Tell his Surname.* A. *Grandier.* This was again a Word which she pronounc'd not, till she had been very much urg'd to Answer. Q. *Dic qualitatem; Mention his Quality.* A. *Sacerdos, A Priest.* Q. *Cujus Ecclesiæ? of what Church?* A. *Sancti Petri, Of Saint Peters.* She utter'd these last Words very boldly. Q. *Quæ Persona attulit Flores? What Person brought the Flowers?* A. *Diabolica, a Diabolical Person.* She came to her Senses after this last Answer, She pray'd to GOD, and she cryed to eat a little Bread which was brought her; she put it from her however a little after, saying she was not able to swallow it because it was too dry. There was brought to her Liquid Sweatmeats of which she eat but very little, because she was frequently perplex'd by the Return of her Convulsions. The Bailiff and Lieutenant who stood near her, and observ'd with good Attention that which past, seeing that they gave no more any Sign of a Possession, withdrew towards the Window; *Mignon* came near them and said, that in the Action which was presented, there was something like the History of *Peter Gaufredi*, who was put to Death by Virtue of a Decree of the Parliament of *Aix* in *Provínce*; to whom there was no Answer made, but the Lieutenant Civil told him, that it would have been proper to urge the Prioress upon this Cause of Animosity, whereof she had spoke in her Answers, upon this he excus'd himself, that he was not allow'd to make any Questions of Curiosity. The Lay Sister had also several Convulsions, and the motions of her Body seem'd very extraordinary. They were desi-

desirous to propose some Questions to her, but she cry'd out Twice, *To the other, to the other*; which was interpreted, as if she had been willing to say, that 'twas only the Superior, who was sufficiently instructed to answer. The Judges retir'd, and understood the same Questions had been already put divers times to the *Nuns*, especially in the Presence of *Paul Grouard* Judge of the Provostship at *Loudun*, and of *Trinquant* the King's Attorney, of which, and all other things they had seen and heard, they drew up a Verbal Process, and sign'd it.

Sect. 26. The Noise which this Possession began to make, produc'd different Opinions; the Devout Souls who regarded with respect and veneration, the Ministers of the Church, and who were inclin'd to receive blind-fold, and without inquiry all that was presented to them on their part, could not perswade themselves that *Barre*, *Mignon*, the *Carmelites*, *Ursulines*, *Priests*, *Friars* and *Nuns*, could possibly be the Authors of so wicked a Contrivance, or invent so devilish an Imposture. But the *Worldlings* not judging so charitably, were more inclin'd to suspect the whole; they could not apprehend how these Devils, who happen'd to go out at one Door, did as quickly re-enter at another, to the confusion of the Ministers of him, by whose Authority they had been dispossest They were astonish'd, that the Devils of the Superior spake Latin, rather than that of the Lay Sister; and that she spake not better than a Scholar of the second Form. They made reflections upon this, that *Mignon* had not been willing to interrogate her upon the cause of the Animosity, of which he himself had spoken, and they concluded that it was because the Devil was at the end of his Lesson; that he had not as yet learnt any further, and that he was obliged

blig'd to play the ſame part before all ſorts of Spectators, ſeeing he had ſpoke nothing before the Bayliff, but what he had already ſaid before the Judge of the Provoſtſhip; they were not ignorant, that ſome time before, there had been a meeting of all the moſt violent Enemies of *Grandier*, at the Village of *Puidardane*, in one of the *Trinquant's* Houſes, and there found a great deal of probability, that what was acted there, had a Relation to the Poſſeſſion. They could not alſo reliſh that *Mignon* had ſo readily explain'd himſelf upon the conformity which he ſaw in his Affair with that of *Gaufredy* the Prieſt executed at *Aix*. And in fine, they had rather that other *Friers* than *Carmelites* had been call'd to their Exorciſms, becauſe the Quarrels of theſe good Fathers with *Grandier*, had been known to all the World, by the Sermons which he had made againſt a priviledged Altar, of which they ſo much boaſted, and by the contempt which he publickly ſhew'd of their Preachers.

Sect. 27. The next Day after, being the Twelfth of *October*, the Bayliff, and the Lieutenant Civil accompanied with the Canon *Rouſſau*, and follow'd by their Regiſter, return'd to the Convent of the *Urſulines*, upon the Knowledge that they had, that they did continue the Exorciſms. They call'd *Mignon* aſide, and remonſtrated to him, that this Affair would be henceforward of ſuch importance, that it was neceſſary that they, the Magiſtrates, ſhould be acquainted when they would proceed in it; they added, that it was convenient that he ſhould forbear to Exorciſe, and that other Exorciſts, ſhould be call'd by thoſe of the Magiſtracy, to avoid the ſuſpitions of Suggeſtion, which his quality, of being Confeſſor, might juſtly give, by reaſon of the Mortal hatred

tred which had been between him, or his near Kindred, and *Grandier*, who had been nam'd by the Superior as the Author of the Pact and Magick which was now in Queſtion. *Mignon* anſwer'd them, that neither he, nor the Nuns, would be againſt their being preſent at the Exorciſings, and declar'd to them that *Barre* had exorcis'd that Day, but he did not promiſe not to Exocriſe any more for the future, although ſince that time he had always abſtain'd from exorciſing in Publick. *Barre* drawing near, told the Magiſtrates, that in this exorciſing, there paſt very ſurpriſing things; That he had learnt from the Superior, That there were in her Body Seven Devils, whoſe Names he had taken in writing; That *Aſtaroth* was the firſt in order; That *Grandier* had given the Pact, between him and the Devils, under the Symbol of Roſes, to one named *Jane Pivart*, who had put them into the Hands of a Maiden, who had brought them to the Convent, over the Walls of the Garden; That the Prioreſs had ſaid, that this happen'd to her on *Saturday* Night, *Hora Secunda Nocturna, at two of the Clock in the Morning*, which were the very Words ſhe us'd. That ſhe would not Name the Maiden, but had nam'd *Pivart*; That he demanded of her who that *Pivart* was? And that ſhe anſwer'd him, *eſt pauper Magus, 'tis a poor Magician*; That he had urg'd her upon this Word, *Magus, Magician*; and that ſhe repli'd *Magicianus & Civis, Magician and Citizen.* After this Diſcourſe, the Magiſtrates went up into the Chamber of the poſſeſſed, which they found fill'd with a great Number of inquiſitive Perſons; ſhe made not any Wry-Face, nor did any Action of a Perſon poſſeſt, neither during the Maſs which *Mignon* celebrated, nor before nor after the Elevation of the Sacrament; They Sung

alſo

alſo with the other Nuns; the Lay-ſiſter only being ſat down by the help of thoſe who were neareſt to her, had a great trembling in her Arms and Hands. This is all that was obſerv'd, and thought worthy to be inſerted into the Verbal Proceſs of the Morning Work of that Day.

Sect. 28. The Deſign of the Judges being to take an exact Account of this Affair, return'd to the Convent about Three or Four of the Clock in the Afternoon, with *Ireneus* of Saint *Marte*, the *Sieur Deſhumeaux*; They found the Chamber again fill'd with People of all conditions; the Superior had at firſt great Convulſions in their preſence; ſhe thruſt out her Tongue, ſhe Foam'd and Froth'd at the Mouth, well nigh as if ſhe had been really in a Fit of Madneſs, or was tormented by an Evil Spirit. *Barre* demanded of the Devil, when he would go out? Thoſe that were near, heard this anſwer, *Cras mane, to Morrow Morning.* The Exorciſt inſiſted, and ask'd him why he would not go out of her then? The Anſwer was *Pactum, a Contract, or it is a Contract.* The word *Sacerdos, Prieſt,* was afterwards pronounc'd, then that of *Finis, or Finit, an end, or does end*; for this good Nun, or the Devil ſpoke between their Teeth, and 'twas not eaſie to underſtand her; Prayers were made, and Exorciſms, and Adjurations, but ſhe anſwer'd nothing. The Pix was put upon her Head, and this Action was accompanied with Prayers and Litanies, which had no effect; only ſome People obſerv'd, ſhe was tormented with more Violence, when the Names of certain Saints were pronounc'd, as Saint *Auguſtine*, Saint *Jerom*, Saint *Anthony*, and Saint *Mary Magdalene*. *Barre* commanded her at that time, (as he did very often ſince) to ſay that ſhe gave her Heart and Soul to GOD; ſhe did it freely,

freely, and without constraint: But when he bid her say, that she gave her Body, she made resistance, and seem'd not to Obey, but by force; as if she were willing to say, the Devil possest her Body, but not her Soul. After she had made this last Answer, she recover'd her natural condition; her countenance was also Pleasant and Calm, as if she had not undergone any extraordinary Agitation; and looking upon *Barre*, with a smiling Countenance, she told him, *That there was now no more of Satan in her*. She was ask'd whether she remembred the Questions which had been put to her, and her Answers? she replied no. Afterwards she took some Food, and told the Company, that the first Pact had been given her about Ten a Clock at Night; That she was then in Bed, and that there were several Nuns in her Chamber; she felt that something took one of her Hands, and after having put into it Three Black Thorns, they clos'd it; That this being done, without her having seen any person, she was troubled, and seiz'd with a great Terror, which made her call the Nuns who were in her Chamber; That they came near her, and found the Three Thorns in her Hand. As she continued to speak, the Lay-Sister had some Convulsions, the particulars whereof the Judges could not take notice, because this happen'd whilst they went nigh the Superior, and were attentive to her Discourse. This Day's work concluded with an Adventure pleasant enough; whilst *Barre* made his Prayers and Exorcisms, there happen'd a great Noise amongst the Company; and some said that they saw a Cat come down the Chimney; This Cat was carefully search'd for, throughout the Chamber; it threw it self upon the Tester of the Bed; it was catch'd upon the Superiors Bed, where *Barre* had made many Signs of the Cross;

upon

upon it, and added ſeveral adjurations, but at laſt it was known to be one of the Cats of the Convent, and no Magician, or Demon.

Sect. 29. The Company being ready to withdraw, the Exorciſt ſaid that it was requiſite to burn the Roſes, where the Second Pact had been put; and in effect he took a great Noſegay of White Musk Roſes, already wither'd, and caſt them into the Fire; there happen'd no Sign upon this occaſion, and the Roſes caus'd no ill ſmell in burning. Nevertheleſs, they promiſed the Company that next Day they ſhould ſee wonderful Events, That the Devil ſhould go out; That he ſhould ſpeak more plainly than he had hitherto; and That they would urge him to give ſuch convincing and manifeſt Signs of his going out; that no Body ſhould be able to doubt of the Truth of this Poſſeſſion. *Rene Herve* the Lieutenant Criminal, ſaid that he ought to ask her concerning the Name *Pivart*; *Barre* anſwer'd in Latine, *& hoc dicet, & puellam nominabit, ſhe ſhall tell it, and Name the Maid*, meaning to ſpeak of her, who had brought the Roſes.

Sect. 30. *Grandier*, who at firſt made a Mock at theſe Exorciſms, and the Teſtimony of theſe pretended Devils, ſeeing that this Affair was puſh'd on ſo far, preſented a Petition to the Bayliff the ſame Day, being the Twelfth of *October*, by which he remonſtrated to him, That *Mignon* had exorcis'd theſe Nuns in his preſence; That they had nam'd him as the Author of their Poſſeſſion; That it was an Impoſture and a perfect Calumny ſuggeſted againſt his Honour, by a Man who rais'd another falſe Accuſation againſt him, of which he had clear'd himſelf; That he requeſted him to ſequeſter theſe Nuns, who pretended to be poſſeſt, and cauſe them

to

to be examined ſeparately; That if he found any appearance of Poſſeſſion, he would be pleas'd to nominate ſome Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, of a requiſite Ability and Honeſty, not ſuſpected by him the Petitioner, as *Mignon* and his Adherents were, to exorciſe them if there were occaſion, and to make his Verbal Proceſs of that which ſhould paſs at the Exorciſms, to the end, that he the Petitioner might be able afterwards to provide as he ſhould ſee cauſe. The Bayliff gave *Grandier* an Act of his Iſſues and Concluſions, according to his deſire, and told him; that 'twas *Barre* who did exorciſe theDay before, by the Orders of the Biſhop of *Poictiers*, as he had boaſted in his preſence; adding, that he declar'd this to him, to the end that he might provide ſo as he thought fit; by which *Grandier* underſtood that he ſhould be referr'd to his Biſhop.

Sect. 31. The next Day, *October* the Thirteenth, the Bayliff,Lieutenant Civil, the Lieutenant Criminal, the King's Attorney, the Lieutenant of the Provoſtſhip, and *Deſhumeaux*, follow'd by the Clerks of the Two Juriſdictions, went to the Convent at Eight of the Clock in the Morning; they paſt the firſt Gate which they found open, *Mignon* open'd the ſecond, and introduc'd them into the Parlour; he told them that the Nuns were preparing themſelves for the Communion, and entreated them to retire to a Houſe, which was on the other ſide of the Street, whence he would cauſe them to be call'd within leſs than an Hour. They went out after they had given him notice of the Petition preſented by *Grandier* to the Bayliff the Day before. The Hour being come, they entred all into the Chappel of the Convent, and *Barre* coming to the Gate with *Mignon*, told them, that he came from exorciſing the two poſſeſſed Perſons, who had been de-

livered from the unclean Spirits by their Miniſtry; that they had toil'd at the Exorciſms ſince Seven a Clock in the Morning; That there had paſs'd great wonders, of which they would draw up an Act; but that they had not judg'd fit to admit other Perſons there than the Exorciſts. The Bayliff remonſtrated to them, that this Proce lure was not reaſonable; That it render'd them ſuſpected of Impoſture and Suggeſtion in the things which were ſaid and done the foregoing Days, by the variation that was found in them, and that the Superior having publickly accus'd *Grandier* of Magick; they ought not to do any thing clandeſtinly, ſince that Accuſation, but in the Face of Juſtice and the Publick. That they had taken upon them a great deal of boldneſs to pray ſo many People, and of ſuch Quality, to wait the ſpace of an Hour, and in the mean while to proceed in the Exorciſms in private. That they would make the Verbal Proceſs, as they had already done in other things, which paſt in their preſence. *Barre* anſwer'd, that the end they aim'd at, was the expulſion of the Devils; That their Deſign had ſucceeded; And that they ſhou'd ſee a great good turn to happen upon it, becauſe he had expreſſy commanded the evil Spirits to produce within Eight Days ſome great effect, capable of hind'ring for the future any one's doubting the Truth of the Poſſeſſion, and deliverance of the Nuns. The Magiſtrates drew up a Verbal Proceſs of this Diſcourſe, and of all that had proceeded in it; but the Lieutenant Criminal only would not Sign it.

Sect. 32. Although the Impoſtures of the Enemies of *Grandier* were not very ingeniouſly contriv'd, he could not but dread their Malice, their Impudence, and their Credit. He ſaw combin'd

bind againſt him the Lieutenant Criminal, the Advocate, and the King's Attorney, *Mignon*, and his Brother the *Sieur de la Coulee*, Preſident of the General Aſſeſſors, *Granger*, *Curate* of *Venier*, *Duthibaut* and *Barot*. But that which did terrifie him moſt, was this; That he had underſtood, that they had engag'd on their ſide *Rene Memin Sieur de Silly*, Major of the Town, a Man who had very much Credit, as well for his Riches, as the many Offices he poſſeſt, and above all for his Friends, amongſt whom might be reckon'd Cardinal *Richelieu*, who had not forgot many ſingular kindneſſes which heretofore he had receiv'd of him in the Country, when he was but a Curate or Prior, and which had continued even ſince his Elevation, and principally at the time of his firſt Diſgrace. All theſe conſiderations oblig'd *Grandier* not to neglect this Affair; and to this effect, believing that he was tacitly referr'd by the Bailiff of *Loudun*, to the Biſhop of *Poictiers*, he went to find him at *Diſſai*, whither he was accompanied by a Prieſt of *Loudun*, nam'd *John Buron*. The Steward of the Biſhop who was call'd *du Pui*, having told him that the Biſhop was indiſpos'd, he addreſt himſelf to his Almoner, and pray'd him to let him underſtand, that he was come to preſent him the Verbal Proceſſes, which the Officers of *Loudun* had made of all things which had paſt in the Convent of the *Urſulines*; and to complain of the impoſtures and calumnies which were diſperſt againſt him. The Almoner returning told, on the behalf of the Biſhop, in the preſence of *du Pui*, *Buron*, and the *Sieur de la Broſſe*, that he was to Addreſs himſelf before the Judges Royal, and that he ſhould be very glad that he had Juſtice done him in this Affair. *Grandier* having been able to do nothing more with

the Biſhop, return'd to *Loudun*, and applied himſelf again to the Bailiff. He acquainted him with that which befel him in his Journey to *Diſſai*, reiterated his Complaints of the calumnies which were induſtriouſly promoted againſt him, and beſought him to acquaint the Kings Juſtices with the Truth of this buſineſs, proteſting that he would make application at Court to obtain a Commiſſion, to bring an Information againſt *Mignon* and his Complices, and demanding to be put under the protection of the King, and ſafeguard of Juſtice, ſeeing that his Honour and Life were attempted. The Bailiff gave him an Act of his Proteſtations, with prohibitions to all ſorts of Perſons to ſpeak ill of him or to hurt him, this Order was of the Twenty Eighth of *October*, 1632.

Sect. 33. *Mignon* ſeeing himſelf accus'd in his turn for having Plotted a Contrivance to deſtroy *Grandier*, came to make his Declaration to the Bailiff, without allowing his Juriſdiction; That *Grandier* and he being Prieſts of the Dioceſs of *Poctiers*, he ought not to addreſs himſelf to other Judges than their Biſhop to accuſe him of the moſt horrible of all the Calumnies that Hell hath ever produc'd, and that he was ready to render himſelf to the Priſon of the Officiality, to make known to all the World, that he did not ſhun the Light of Juſtice: He added, that he had proteſted his innocence the Day before, by Swearing on the Holy Sacrament of the Altar, in the preſence of the Juſtices themſelves, that he had never thought of the Calumny for which he was complain'd of, that he had given *Grandier* notice to put himſelf on his part, in a condition of defence; and to forbear in the mean time to accuſe him of being a Calumniator; of which Words and Proteſtations

testations, the Bailiff decreed him an Act, which he caus'd to be signified to his Adversary.

Sect. 34. Since the Thirteenth of *October*, that *Barre* had boasted of having expell'd the Devils out of the Two Nuns; they past some time without any talk of the Possession; *Grandier* however inclin'd not to believe that the business would stop there, nor that there had a Design to let him be quiet; he imagin'd that these Maids took time to study their part, and to exercise themselves in the presence of the Director of the Work, in order to act their parts the better, when it should be time to represent the other Acts of this Comedy. He fail'd not in his conjecture; for *Rene Mannouri* the Chirurgeon was sent the Twenty Second of *November*, to *Gaspard Joubert* a Physician, to pray him to come to the Convent of the *Ursulines*, and to get himself accompanied with the other Physicians of *Loudun*, in order to visit two Nuns who were again tormented by evil Spirits? *Joubert* being a Frank Man, and an Enemy of Imposture, and unwilling to go upon this occasion, but under the standard of Justice, went speedily to find the Bailiff, to know, if it was by his order, that *Monnouri* had call'd him? The Bailiff answered that he had not, and sent for *Mannouri* to know of him himself, by whose order he had spoke to *Joubert*; *Mannouri* declar'd, that the Maid belonging to the Convent, came to his House, and told him that the possessed had never been so ill treated as they were then; and that the Nuns pray'd him to get all the Physicians of *Loudun*, and some Chirurgeons, to come to the Convent. Upon which, the Bailiff sent for *Grandier* to tell him, that as he was nam'd the Au-

thor of the bewitching of the Nuns, he thought himself oblig'd to give him notice, that *Barre* was retun'd from *Chinon* the Day before, to renew the Exorcisms, and that the Report went about, that the Superior, and the Sister *Clair*, were a new tormented with Evil-Spirits, as they had been before. *Grandier* reply'd, that it was a continuation of the Conspiracies which had been made against him, which he had complain'd of at Court, and would again complain; That in the mean while, he besought him to resort always to the Convent with the other Officers to assist at the Exorcisms, and to call thither the Physicians; and that if they saw any Appearance of Possession, he would be pleas'd to sequester the Nuns, and to have them interrogated by other Exorcists, than *Mignon* and *Barre*, against whom he had very just Causes of Suspition. The Bailiff sent for the Kings Attorney, who gave his conclusions; Whereupon the Clerk was sent to the Convent, to know of *Mignon* and *Barre* if the Superior was again possest; and in case they answer'd affirmatively, he was order'd to tell them they were forbidden to proceed clandestinely in the Exorcisms, and that they were enjoyn'd to advertise the Bailiff, to the end that he might be there with the Physicians whom he would call, and the Officers whom he should think proper to accompany him, and all upon the Penalties thereunto belonging, without prejudice to the right of *Grandier*, upon the request made by him, for the sequestration of the possessed, and nomination of unsuspected Exorcists. *Mignon* and *Barre* having heard the reading of this Order, declar'd, without allowing the Jurisdiction of the Bailiff, that they were again call'd by the Nuns, to assist them in the continuation of

a ſtrange Diſeaſe, which they ſuppos'd to be a Poſ-ſeſſion of the Evil Spirits; that they had exorcis'd, even to the preſent Day, by Virtue of a Commiſſion from the Biſhop of *Poictiers*, the Date whereof was not yet expir'd, which Biſhop they had neverthe-leſs judg'd requiſite to inform with the State of the Buſineſs, to the intent that he might come him-ſelf, or ſend ſuch Exorciſts as he ſhould think good to act by his Orders, and to judge judicially of the preſent Poſſeſſion, which had been treated as an impoſture and illuſion, to the great comtempt of the Glory of GOD, and the Catholick Religion; although the Maids who had been tormented, during the ſecond Poſſeſſion, had been viſited by many Doctors of Phyſic, and by Chirurgeons and Apo-thecaries, who had all alike given their atteſtations; and alſo a great many Perſons of Honour and Piety had ſeen the Wonders of GOD. In ſum, that they ſhould not hinder the Bailiff and other Officers, accompanied with Phyſicians, from com-ing to the Nuns, whilſt they waited for the Biſhop's anſwer, which they hop'd to receive the next Day, and that they conſented that the Gates ſhould be open'd, if it would pleaſe the Ladies to open them. They repeated once again, that they did not acknowledge the Bailiff for their Judge, and that they did not ſuppoſe that he could hinder them from executing the Commands of the Biſhop of *Poictiers*, as well in the matter of exorciſing, as all other acts which depended on his Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdictions. In fine, they proteſted, that if theſe Maids ſhould be violently Tormented, they ſhould proceed to exorciſing for their relief; and that the Bailiff and the Officers, and Phyſicians might aſſiſt there, if it ſeem'd good to them, to ſee if the

Possession were an imposture, or a truth. The Bailiff having receiv'd this Answer, deferr'd till the Day following in the Morning, to make his Visit, hoping that the Bishop would come, or at least that he would send other Ecclesiasticks who were not suspected. As soon as the Morning was come, he repair'd to the Convent, where he waited in vain, till Noon; after which, to do right upon another Petition presented to him, by *Grandier*, He order'd *that Prohibitions should be made to* Barre *and all others, to put Questions to the Suporior and other Nuns, tending to blacken the Petitioner or any other person, whosoever it was, upon the Penalties that should fall thereon.* This Order being signified to *Barre*, and to one of the Nuns, for all the rest, *Barre* continu'd to Answer, that the Bailiff could not hinder him from executing the Orders of the Bishop; and that he declar'd, that he would exorcise henceforwards by the advice of the Ecclesiasticks, without calling Lay-persons thither, but only as far as he should think it necessary, for the greater Glory of GOD; That he would complain of the great violences, which he had seen in the Morning, and of the obstacle that was put to the Continuance of the Exorcisms, the Bailiff having not been willing to suffer, that he should reiterate to the Evil Spirit, the command to speak the Truth, upon a Question that had been propos'd to one of the possessed, when she was brought into the Choir of the Church; That he declar'd nevertheless, that he would execute that which he had said, till the coming of the Bishop or his Orders; Adding, that the Nuns desir'd that he would continue to execute his Commission for their Relief, and that 'twas sufficient that

that the Order of the Bailiff had been notified unto them.

Sect. 34. The Day was almoſt gone, and the Biſhop not arriv'd, nor was there any Probability that he would give himſelf the Cognizance of an Affair, with which he ſeem'd to look on as a trifling Matter. This gave *Grandier* Occaſion to preſent at Night another Petition to the Bailiff, who ſent for all the Officers of the Bailiwick, and thoſe belonging to the Law to communicate it to them. The laſt of which declin'd the taking Cognizance of it; The Advocate, becauſe he was ſenſibly provok'd and offended with the Scandalous Diſcourſe which the Petitioner made in his Preſence againſt *Mignon*, whoſe near Kinſman he was; And the Attorney, becauſe he was Couſin-German to the ſame *Mignon* by his Wife, who was the Daughter of *Trinquant*, whoſe Office he had lately taken Poſſeſſion of; and becauſe he had ſeveral Quarrels with *Grandier* for the laſt Six Months, and that he had obtain'd of the Biſhop of *Poictiers* a Diſpenſation not to acknowledge him for his Parſon, Each of them declaring that they humanely believ'd that the *Nuns* were really poſſeſs'd by the Devils, being convinc'd by the Teſtimony of the Phyſicians from other Towns who had ſeen them, and by that of divers Eccleſiaſticks, Seculars and Regulars, and yet without having a Thought that *Grandier* was the Author of this Fatal Accident. Their Declarations being writ and ſign'd, the Judges order'd that the Superior and Lay Siſter ſhould be Sequeſtred and put into a Citizens Houſe, That each of them ſhould have a *Nun* to keep her Company; That they ſhould be aſſiſted as well by their Exorciſts as by Women of Honeſty and Qua-

lity, and by Physicians and other Persons whom they them selves would appoint to have the Charge of them; Forbidding all others, without Permission, to come near them. The Register was sent to the Convent with an Order to declare this Sentence to the *Nuns*. The Superior having heard it read, answer'd as well for her self as for all the Society, That she did not acknowledge the Jurisdiction of the Bailiff; That there was a Commission of the Bishop of *Poictiers*, dated the Eighteenth of *November*, importing such Orders as he desir'd should be held in the Present Affair, and that she was ready to put a Copy of it into his Hand, to the End that he might not plead Ignorance; As for the Sequestration, that she did oppose it, because 'twas contrary to the Vow of perpetual Confinement, for which she could not be dispenc'd with but by the Bishop. This Opposition having been made in the Presence of the Lady *de Charnazai*, Aunt by the Mothers Side to Two *Nuns*, and in that of the Chirurgion *Mannouri*, Brother-in-Law to another, each of them Joyn'd together and protested against the Proceeding, if the Bailiff would go on further; and also to take it upon themselves in their proper and private Names. The Act was sign'd, and carried by the Register to the Bailiff, who order'd that the Partys should provide themselves for a Sequestration, and that he would come to the Convent next morning being the Twenty fourth of *November*, to assist at the Exorcisms. He went thither at the Hour appointed, and having sent for *Daniel Roger Vincent de Faux*, *Gaspard Jouburt*, and *Matthew Fanton* Physicians, he told them that he would take their Oaths when they made their Report, and commanded them in the mean while that they would attentively consider the

Two

Two *Nuns* who ſhould be ſhew'd to them, and to examine if the cauſes of their Diſeaſe were Natural or Supernatural; They were plac'd near the Altar, which was ſeparated by a Grate from the *Choir*, where the *Nuns* did uſually Sing, and over againſt which the Superior was a little after laid upon a Couch; She had great Convulſions whilſt *Barre* ſaid Maſs, her Arms and Hands were diſtorted, her Fingers were half Shut, her Cheeks ſeem'd to be much ſwoll'n, and only the white of her Eyes was to be ſeen; The *Friars* and *Nuns* ſtood about her, and aſſiſted her, and there was a great Number of Spectators in the *Choir* and near the Altar. Maſs being ended, *Barre* came nigh her to give her the Communion, and to exorciſe her, and holding the Sacrament in his Hand, he ſpake to her in theſe Words, *Adora Deum tuum, Creatorem tuum. Adore thy God, thy Creator*; *ſhe being urg'd anſwer'd, Adoro te, I adore thee. Quem adoras? Whom doſt thou adore?* ſaid the Exorciſt ſeveral times, *Jeſus Chriſtus*, reply'd ſhe; making Motions as if ſhe had ſuffer'd Violence. *Daniel Drouin*, Aſſeſſor of the Provoſtſhip, could not forbear ſaying aloud, *Here's a Devil who is a bad Latiniſt. Barre* changing the Phraſe, demanded of the poſſeſs'd, *Quis eſt iſte quem adoras? Who is he whom thou adoreſt?* he hop'd that ſhe would ſay again *Jeſus Chriſtus*, but ſhe anſwer'd *Jeſu Chriſte*; Then there was heard a great Noiſe of the Aſſiſtants who cry'd out *this is ill Latine. Barre* maintain'd boldly that ſhe ſaid *Adoro te Jeſu Chriſte, I adore thee, O Jeſus Chriſt.* There was afterwards put to her ſome Queſtions concerning our Saviour, to which ſhe made this anſwer, *Jeſus Chriſtus eſt ſubſtantia Patris, Jeſus Chriſt is the Subſtance of the Father*; Look you here is a Devil who is a great Divine, ſaid the Exorciſt. Next after, he demanded

the Name of the Devil, to whom it was anſwer'd, after great Urgency and violent Convulſions, that e was call'd *Aſmodee*; He enquir'd alſo what were the Number of the Devils who were in the Body of the Poſſeſſed, ſhe anſwer'd *Sex*, *Six*. The Bailiff requir'd of *Barre*, that he ſhould ask *Aſmodee* how many Companio ns he had, which was done, and the *Nun* anſwer'd *Quinque*, *Five*; But when he was adjur'd, upon the Requeſt of the ſaid Bailiff to tell in Greek, that which ſhe had ſaid in Latin, ſhe made no Anſwer, though the Adjurations were often repeated, and ſhe alſo preſently return'd to her natural State. The Exorciſt ask'd her again, by the Order of the Bailiff, if ſhe remembred what had paſt during her Convulſions, *No, ſaid ſhe, I do not Remember any thing*; At leaſt reply'd the Bailiff, you muſt needs remember the things which paſt at the Beginning of your Agitations, ſeeing that the Ritual enjoyns the Exorciſts to demand of the poſſeſſed what are the Inclinations of your Bodies and Minds in the beginning of them; ſhe anſwer'd, that ſhe had a Deſire to Blaſpheme; The ſame Day there was produc'd another young *Nun*, who twice pronounc'd the Name of *Grandier*, burſting out into a Laughter, then turning towards the Company, ſhe ſaid, *All you do is nothing to the Purpoſe*. *Barre* drew near her to give her the Communion, but he believ'd that he ought not, becauſe ſhe ceaſed not to laugh. Afterwards ſhe retir'd to make Room for the Lay Siſter who was called Siſter *Clair*. As ſoon as ſhe came into the Choir ſhe made a kind of ſighing, and when they had laid her upon a Couch, ſhe ſaid laughing, *Grandier, Grandier you muſt buy it in the Market*. *Barre* being come near to exorciſe her, ſhe made a Show as if ſhe would ſpit in his Face, and ſhe often held up her Noſe in token of Deriſi-

on;

on; She made wanton Motions, before all the Spectators, and ſeveral times pronounc'd an obſcene beaſtly Word. The Exorciſts having adjur'd her to tell the Name of the Devil who poſſeſs'd her, ſhe nam'd at firſt *Grandier*; and when he urg'd her further, ſhe nam'd at laſt the Devil *Elomi*, but ſhe would not tell the Number that ſhe had in her Body; He demanded of her alſo in Latine, *Quo pacto ingreſſus eſt Dæmon? By what Pact is the Devil entred?* She reply'd *Dupplex*, *Double*, which made it known that this Devil was no better a *Latiniſt* than the other; During the Convulſions which ſhe had, ſhe was prick'd in the Arm by a Pin which pinn'd her Sleeve; It did not at all appear that the Devil had made her inſenſible of bodily Pains, for ſhe cry'd out, take away this Pin, it pricks me. When ſhe was recover'd out of her Convulſions, ſhe ſaid to the Aſſeſſor of the Provoſtſhip, that ſhe remembred all that was paſt, and that *Barre* had done her much Harm. So this was the Scene of the Morning's Work of this Day; but there were ſeveral things that happen'd at the Actions of the Evening, which pleas'd neither the Exorciſts nor the Nuns.

Sect. 35. The Bailiff follow'd by his Clerk, and accompanied with divers Judges, and a conſiderable Number of other Perſons being entred at Three or Four of the Clock in the Afternoon, into the Chamber of the Superior, ſaid to *Barre* that 'twas requiſite to ſeparate her from the Siſter *Claire*, to the Intent that all their Motions might be more diſtinctly obſerv'd, their Eyes not being drawn aſide by Objects differing and diſtant one from the other, which was done. They began alſo preſently the Exorciſms, and the Superior likewiſe to be tormented again with great Convulſions, almoſt like

like thoſe in the Morning, ſaving that her Feet ſeem'd to be more bow'd, which had not been ſeen before. The Exorciſt, after many Adjurations, made her ſay her Prayers, and demanded of her again the Number and Names of the Devils which poſſeſs'd her, ſhe anſwer'd, after many Inſtances oftentimes repeated, that one of them was nam'd *Achaos*. The Bailiff requir'd that this Queſtion ſhould be propos'd to her, if ſhe were poſſeſs'd *Ex pacto Magi aut ex pura Voluntate Dei? By the Pact of the Magician, or by the pure Will of GOD?* Her anſwer was, *Non eſt Voluntas Dei? It is not the Will of GOD. Barre* to break off this way of Qeſtioning, demanded of her by his own Authority, *Who was the Magician*, and when ſhe had anſwer'd *Urbanus*, he urg'd her, ſaying, *What Urban? Eſtne Urbanus Papa? Is it Urban the Pope?* She reply'd, *Grandier*. The Bailiff propos'd that they would demand of her, *Cujus eſſet ille Magus? Of what Country the Magician was?* A. *Cenomanenſis, Of Mans.* Q. *Cujus Dioceſis? Of what Dioceſs?* A. *Pictavienſis, Of Poictiers.* She was again urg'd, and adjur'd by the Order of the Bailiff, to ſay in *Latine* theſe laſt things which ſhe had expreſs'd in *French*, when ſhe had nam'd one of the Devils, concerning whom ſhe endeavour'd to ſpeak Twice or Thrice, but could only ſay *Si, Si*, or elſe *Ti Ti*, and then her Convulſions ceas'd, and ſhe continued without being tormented or diſquieted a conſiderable ſpace of time; during which *Barre* had this horrid Diſcourſe with her, *I will that you be tormented for the Glory of GOD, and that you give your Body to the Devil to be tormented, as our Lord gave his to the Jews.* He had ſcarcely finiſh'd theſe Words, but the Nun fell into her uſual Convulſions. The Bailiff open'd his mouth to propound Queſtions, but the Exorciſt made

made haste to prevent him; and demanded, by his own Authority, of the Devil, *Quare ingressus es in Corpus hujus Puellæ? Wherefore hast thou enter'd into the Body of this Maiden?* A. *Propter Præsentiam tuam, Because of thy Presence.* The Bailiff interrupted him, and desir'd that he would interrogate her upon that which was propos'd by him and the other Officers, promising, that if she would answer justly to the Three or Four Questions which should be put to her, they would believe the Possession and Sign it. They offer'd to obey him, but the Convulsions ceas'd at that very time, and for as much as it was late, every one retir'd.

Sect. 36. The next Morning being the Twenty Fifth of *November*, the Bailiff with the greater Part of Officers of the Two Courts, and the Register, being return'd to the Convent, the Superior was brought to the Choir of the Church, and the Curtains of the Grate having been drawn, *Barre* began according to his Custom with the Celebration of the Mass. The possessed had, during the Service, great Convulsions like those of the Day before, in one of which she cried out, being neither exorcis'd, nor interrogated, *Grandier, Grandier, a naughty Priest.* Mass being ended, the Exorcist entred into the Choir with the Pix in his Hand, and protesting that his Action was pure, and full of Integrity, without Passion, or evil Design, he plac'd it upon his Head, and pray'd to GOD with a great Appearance of Zeal and Fervency, *That he would confound him, if he had made use of any evil Means, Suggestion, or Perswasion to the Nuns in all this Action.* After which, the Prior of the *Carmelites* put himself forwards, and made the same Protestations and Imprecations, having also the Pix upon his Head, and added, as well in his own Name,

Name, as in the Name of all the *Carmelites* preſent and abſent, that the Curſes of *Dathan* and *Abiram* might fall upon them, if they had ſinn'd or committed any Fault in this Affair. 'Tis by theſe Ways that the Exorciſts endeavour'd to extinguiſh the ill Opinion, which the Behaviour of the Nuns had caus'd to be conceiv'd of them. Immediately after, *Barre* drew near to the Superior to give her the Communion, but ſhe fell into Convulſions, the Motions whereof were extraordinary violent, even to that Degree, that ſhe endeavour'd to pluck the Pix out of his Hands; However he overcame this Difficulty, and gave her the Communion She had ſcarcely receiv'd the Sacrament into her Mouth, but ſhe put out her Tongue, and made a Shew as if ſhe would throw it out; the Exorciſt thruſt it back with his Fingers, and forbid the Devil to cauſe her to Vomit it; and becauſe the poſſeſſed declar'd, that this Wafer did one while ſtick to the Roof of her Mouth, another while to her Throat, he made her drink ſome Water thrice, after which, he interrogated the Devil as he had done in the foregoing Exorciſms. Q. *Per quod Pactum ingreſſus es in Corpus hujus Puellæ? By what Pact haſt thou enter'd into the Body of this Maiden?* A. *Aqua, by Water.* The Bailiff had then near him a *Scotchman* named *Stracan*, who was Principal of the College of *Loudun*, He requir'd that the Devil ſhould ſay *Aqua*, in the *Scots* Language, for the convincing of all the Aſſiſtants, that there was not any Suggeſtion by any one whatſoever. *Barre* reply'd, that he would cauſe him to ſay it, if GOD would permit it, and at the ſame time he commanded him, and repeated it ſeveral times, but the Nun anſwer'd, *Nimia Curioſitas, 'Tis too great a Curioſity*; and after ſhe had repeated it Twice or Thrice, ſhe ſaid

Deus

Deus non volo; ſome cry'd out that this was ill Syntax; the Devil was adjur'd on the part of GOD to ſpeak congruouſly, but theſe Words *Deus non volo*, were again repeated, by which ſhe would have ſaid *GOD will not*; The Exorciſt finding himſelf confounded, ſaid, that in Effect there ſeem'd that there was in this too great a Curioſity; The Queſtion is pertinent and reaſonable reply'd the Lieutenant Civil, and you may find by the Ritual which you have in your Hand, that the Faculty of ſpeaking in ſtrange and unknown Languages is an undoubted Mark of a Poſſeſſion, and that that of telling the things that are done a great Way off is another. The Exorciſt reply'd, that *the Devil knew this Language very well, but he would not ſpeak it*; *But if you will*, added he, *that I command him to tell preſently your Sins, he ſhall do it*; Deſiring to let them know by this Diſcourſe, that the Devil he was dealing with, knew well enough hidden things. *This will not trouble me*, ſaid the Lieutenant. Upon which *Barre* turn'd towards the Superior, as if he would have interrogated her; but the Bailiff having told him, that this was not fit to be done, he forbore, and ſaid, that he never meant to do it.

Sect. 37. In the mean time, the Aſſiſtants being very eager to know if the Devil underſtood ſtrange Languages, the Bayliff upon their importunities propos'd the *Hebrew* Tongue as a dead Language, and the moſt ancient of all Languages, which the Devil ought to know better than any other, which being follow'd by a General Applauſe, the Exorciſt commanded the poſſeſſed to ſay in the *Hebrew* Tongue the word *Aqua*, *Water*, ſhe anſwer'd not; but ſome underſtood that ſhe pronounc'd very low theſe Words, *Ah! je renie*, *Curſe on't*: It was affirm'd by a Carmelite, who was a little

way

way from her, that ſhe did ſay *Zaquaq*, and that it was an *Hebrew* Word, which ſignifies, *Effudi aquam, I have pour'd out Water*; although they who were neareſt to her unanimouſly atteſted that ſhe ſaid, *Ah! je renie*, which caus'd the Sub-prior of the *Carmelites* to reprove publickly the Friar. The poſſeſſed had again ſeveral convulſions, in one of which ſhe rais'd her ſelf above the Couch, her Head was alſo preſently ſupported by a Nun, and her Body by thoſe that ſtood neareſt to her, by whom it was affirm'd, that ſhe rais'd her ſelf ſo high, as even to carry her Hand near the Beam of the Cieling, without touching the Bed, but with one Foot, which was ſeen but by a very few Perſons. After theſe Convulſions, which had been long and violent, ſhe ſeem'd no more concern'd than ſhe was before, nor even her Colour was not more lively. Afterwards, and at the very time that the Spectators were ready to be gone, ſhe pronounc'd twice, of her own accord, two *Latine* Words, which ſignified, *unjuſt Judgments*.

Sect. 38. *Grandier* having diſcover'd that beſides the Exorciſms that were made in the preſence of the Bayliff and Lieutenant Civil, there were others yet made in the preſence of the Lieutenant Criminal, who made Verbal Proceſſes thereof, he preſented him with a Petition, remonſtrating that he had been a Witneſs, and that he had depos'd in an Accuſation, which was falſly contriv'd againſt him the Petitioner, who had receiv'd upon this occaſion (and many others) Marks of his ill will; that there were yet differences to be clear'd between them; that one of the Perſons pretended to be poſſeſs'd, was his Couſin *German*, and had been his Domeſtick; that all theſe conſiderations

ſiderations and others to be produc'd in time and place, ought to withhold him from medling in thoſe things which concern'd him the Petitioner; and neverthelefs, that he beſought him he would not do, ſay, or write any thing in this Affair. This Petition having been ſignified to the Lieutenant Criminal, in the Convent of the *Urſulines*, where he then was, he gave an Act to the Petitioner of his words and declarations; and declared, that when he was accus'd in a Court of Juſtice, he would do what ſhould be fit; ordering in the mean time, that the preſent Petition ſhould be ſent to the Regiſter to be ingroſs'd.

Sect. 37. The Bayliff and Lieutenant Civil return'd to the Convent the ſame Day, between Three and Four of the Clock in the Afternoon, *Barre* having walk'd Two or Three turns with them in the Court, ſaid to the Lieutenant Civil, that he very much wonder'd at this, that he ſupported *Grandier*, after having inform'd againſt him, by the Orders of the Biſhop of *Poictiers*; the Lieutenant reply'd, that he ſhould be yet altogether ready to do it, if there was occaſion; but that for the preſent matter, he had no other aim but to know the truth. This anſwer being not well reliſh'd by him who began this Diſcourſe, he took the Bayliff aſide, and to engage him to a Party, to which he ſeem'd not more favourable than the Lieutenant, he repreſented to him, that being deſcended of many Perſons of Quality, ſome whereof were poſſeſſed of very conſiderable Eccleſiaſtical Dignities, and he appearing at the Head of all the Officers of a Town, ought to ſhew leſs repugnance in believing the Poſſeſſion of the Nuns, which tended to cauſe GOD to be glorified, and to raiſe the Advantages of the

Church and Religion. The Bayliff answer'd him coldly, and in a few words, that he would do always that which he was bound to do in justice. When they were come up into the Chamber, where was a great Assembly, the Superiour seeing *Barre*, and the Pix in his Hand, she had very great Convulsions, as if the Devil had fallen in a rage at the Sight of this Object. The Exorcist demanded yet once more of the Devil, *Per quod Pactum ingressus esset in Corpus hujus puella?* *By what Pact he was entred into the Body of this Damsel?* The Nun, who ought to understand this Lesson well, answer'd as before, *Aqua, by Water.* Q. *Quis Finis Pacti? What was the intent of the Pact?* A. *Impuritas, Impurity.* The Bayliff requir'd that they would make her say in *Greek, Finis Pacti Impuritas*, which was propos'd to her by the Exorcist; but she freed her self from the Matter as she us'd to do, with a *Nimia Curiositas*, it is too great a Curiosity. He begun again, and demanded of her of his own Motion, who had brought the Pact, Q. *Quis attulit pactum?* And after her Answer, *Quale nomen Magi? What is the Name of the Magician?* A. *Urbanus, Urban.* Q. *Quis Urbanus? estne Urbanus Papa? What Urban is it, Pope Urban?* A. *Grandier.* Q. *Cujus Qualitatis? Of what quality is he?* A. *Curatus*, meaning the Curate. The Bayliff desir'd that they would ask her, *Sub quo Episcopo ille Grandier, tonsuram accepisset? Under what Bishop had Grandier receiv'd his tonsure?* A. *Nescio*, I know not, reply'd she; *Barre* said in effect, this was a thing which the Devil might be ignorant of. He put to her, yet another Question, which the Bayliff had also propos'd, *Sub quo Episcopo, Cenomanensi natus esset ille Grandier? Under what Bishop of Man's was that Gran-*

Grandier born? She repeated *Cenomanensi, of Man's.* But whatsoever instances could be made to her, She answer'd not to the Question, nor could tell the Name of the Bishop. It was not so in those Questions which the Exorcist had put to her of his own Head, *viz.* Q. *Quis attulit aquam pacti? Who is it that brought the Water of the Pact?* A. *Magus, the Magician,* Q. *Qua hora? at what Hour?* A. *Septima, at Seven a Clock.* Q. *An matutina? At Seven in the Morning?* A. *Sero, in the Evening.* Q. *Quomodo intravit? How came he in?* A. *Janua, at the Door.* Q. *Quis Vidit? Who saw it?* A. *Tres, Three. Barre* confirming this testimony of the Devil, assur'd them, that being at Supper with the Superior in her Chamber the *Sunday* after she had been delivered from the second possession, *Mignon* her Confessor, and one other Nun who was indispos'd, supping there also, she had shew'd them at Seven in the Evening, her Arms, wet with some Drops of Water, without seeing any Person who put them on; that he forthwith wash'd her Arm with Holy Water, and said some Prayers, during which, the Prayer-Book of the Superior was twice pull'd out of her Hands, and cast at her Feet, and that there was given her a Box on the Ear. *Mignon* also made a long Speech to confirm that which was said, and concluded with great Oaths, and horrible Imprecations, in the presence of the Sacrament, which he adjur'd to confound and destroy him, if he did not speak the truth. When he had given over speaking, the Exorcist ask'd the possessed, whether she understood well these *Latine* Words, *Sub quo Episcopo natus esset*? She swore that she understood neither the words, nor the *Latine.* He said then, to the Assembly that was ready to depart, that next Day he would expel the

Devil; and that he exhorted them all to Confession, and the Communion, to be rendred worthy of the contemplation of this Miracle.

Sect. 39. That which past at this last Exorcism being publish'd through all the Town, *Grandier* went to present, the next Morning, *November* the Twentieth, a large Petition to the Bailiff, wherein he declar'd, that the Nuns maliciously, and by suggestion, continued to name him in their Convulsions, as the Author of their pretended possession; That he had never seen these pretended possessed, and That he never had any Communication with them, no more than with their pretended Devils; That to justify the suggestion, whereof he complain'd, it was absolutely necessary to sequester them; that it was not just, that *Mignon* and *Barre*, his Mortal Enemies should govern them, and pass whole Days and Nights with them; That this procedure render'd the suggestion visible and palpable; That the Honour of GOD was concern'd, and that of him the Petitioner, who held, whatever they thought of him, the first rank amongst the Ecclesiasticks of *Loudun*. For which considerations he besought him to command, that the pretended possessed should be sequestred and separated one from the other; That they should be govern'd by Persons of the Church not suspected by the Petitioner, and assisted by Physicians; and that all should be perform'd, whatsoever Oppositions or Appeals notwithstanding, and without prejudice to them, because of the Importance of the Affair; And that in Case he would not be pleas'd to order a Sequestration, he, the Petitioner, protested that he would complain, as being denied Justice. The Bayliff writ at the bottom of his Petition, that Right should be done him that very Day.

Sect. 39. *Grandier* was ſcarce gone from the Bayliff's Houſe, when the Phyſicians of the Town, who aſſiſted at one of the Exorciſms, came in to make their Report, which was inſerted in the Verbal Proceſs. It contain'd, That they had ſeen the Convulſive Motions in the Perſon of the Mother Superior, but that one ſingle Viſit was not ſufficient to diſcover the Cauſes of theſe Motions, which might be Natural, as well as Supernatural; That they deſir'd to ſee them, and examine them more particularly, that they might be able to judge with Certainty and a good Conſcience; That for this Effect, they requir'd that it might be permitted them to abide yet near the Nuns ſome Days and Nights, without ſeparating themſelves, and to treat them in the Preſence of other Nuns and ſome of the Magiſtrates. That they ſhould not receive Food nor Phyſick, if 'twas neceſſary, but from their Hands; That no Body ſhould either touch them, or ſpeak to them but aloud; And that then they promis'd to report faithfully, and truly, that which they obſerv'd relating to the Cauſe of their Convulſions.

Sect. 40. After this Report was written and ſign'd, time preſſing, the Bayliff repair'd forthwith to the Convent, where he found in the Second Court the Lieutenant Civil, and the Aſſeſſor, *Ceſvet* and *Gautier* Counſellors, with the Lieutenant and Aſſeſſor of the Provoſtſhip: They caus'd *Barre* to have Notice of their being come, by whom they were introduc'd into the Chappel, a great Croud of People going before and following them. This Exorciſt now chang'd his Note, and commanded the Devil to acknowledge and confeſs the Reality of the Body of our Saviour in the Sacrament. The Superior had great Convulſions

vulsions before she came to this Con fession; she rais'd her self upon her Couch, as she had already done another time, being held by the Head and Body. In fine, she receiv'd the Communion after some Struggles, like those of the former Days, and after that, she had some Rest. We must not omit here, that which pass'd during the Celebration of the Mass: The Roman Catholicks were all upon their Knees out of Respect to the Sacrament, the Bayliff perceiv'd that a young Man nam'd *Dessentiers* had his Hat upon his Head, he commanded him to uncover, or be gone. The Superior cried out at that Instant that there were *Huguenots* there; The Exorcist ask'd her how many there were; She answer'd *Two*, whence some concluded that this Devil did not know how to reckon, or that he knew not the *Huguenots*; for besides *Dessentiers*, there was *Abraham Gautier* a Counsellor, with his Brother, and Four of his Sisters, *Rene Fourneau* an Assessor, and *Peter Angevin* an Attorney. It was observ'd that *Barre* the Day before had demanded of the Possessed if she understood *Latine*; and that she swore she did not. He ask'd her the same again, and she reply'd as before; he urg'd her yet to Swear upon the Pix; at First she was at a Stand, saying, *My Father, you make me take great Oaths, I fear that GOD will punish me*; *Daughter*, said he, *you ought to swear for the Glory of GOD*: And after she had sworn, he told her, that 'twas nois'd abroad however, that she expounded the Catechism to her Schollars, which she deny'd, acknowledging, nevertheless, that she did explain the *Pater noster and Creed*. When she fell again into Convulsions, he ask'd the Devil in *French*, Who had introduc'd him into the Body of the Superior? The

Anſwer was, *that 'twas Urban Grandier* ; *And that this Grandier was the Parſon of Saint Peters in the Market Place.* The Bailiff order'd the Exorciſt to ask her, *where this pretended Magician was at that time* ? The Queſtion was in the Words of the Ritual, and he was oblig'd to obey and do it ; The poſſeſſed reply'd, *that he was in the Caſtle-Hall.* This will be found falſe, ſaid the Bayliff aloud, becauſe before my coming hither I order'd him to go to a certain Houſe, where he will be aſſuredly found, being willing to take the Advantage of this Proof to come to the Knowledge of the Truth without a Sequeſtration, which was a difficult Courſe to take with Nuns ; He affirm'd ſtill, that if *Grandier* went that Day to the Caſtle, as he might do, at leaſt he was ſure, that 'twas a long time ſince he was there, for the Proof whereof, and to make it known to all the Aſſiſtants, that the Devil was badly ſerv'd by his Spies, he order'd *Barre* to nominate ſome of the Friars who were there preſent to repair to the Caſtle, and to accompany thither one of the Magiſtrates and the Clerk ; The Exorciſt nam'd the Prior of the *Carmelites*, and the Bayliff nam'd *Charles Chauvet* Aſſeſſor of the Bayliwick, *Iſrael Bouleau* Prieſt, and *Peter Thibaut* the Regiſter Deputy, who thereupon went to execute their Commiſſion.

Sect. 41. The Superior was ſtruck with ſo great an Aſtoniſhment by this Procedure of the Bayliff, that ſhe continued mute, and fell no more into her Convulſions, although they continued yet ſome time to exorciſe her ; They had Recourſe to the ſinging of Hymns, at the end of which her Silence ended not, for it laſted more than half an Hour ; after which *Barre* being a little recover'd out of his Surprize, propos'd the bringing of the

Sister *Clair* into the Choir, saying, that one Devil would excite the other; But the Bayliff represented that that might cause Trouble and Confusion, and that some might in the mean while suggest something to the Superior concerning the Matter in Question, and that 'twere fit, at least, to wait the Return of those that were gone; but how pertinent soever this Reason was, his Desire was not comply'd with. It was necessary to be rid of the Bayliff at any rate, and of the other Magistrates who were of his Opinion, or to find some Occasion to put an Illusion upon them. Sister *Clair* came in notwithstanding the Oposition of the Bayliff, and the other Officers, who not being able to endure this foul Play, retir'd, expressing the Resentment which they had. The Persons which had been sent to the Castle, found them yet in the Court of the Convent, and they related to them, that they had seen the Lady *d'Amagnac*, who went to follow her Husband the Governour of the Town, whom they carried into the Country in a Litter, by reason of some Indisposition; That she told them that 'twas near Three Hours since *Grandier* came to the Castle to bid Adieu to the Governour; but that he went away at that Instant, and that she had not seen him since; That afterwards having obtain'd Leave to seek for him in the Castle, they went in the great Hall, in all the Chambers, and every where else without finding him; That from thence they came down into the place of Saint *Crosse* and to *Charles Maurat's* House, where the Bayliff inform'd the Assessor that he might find him, as having order'd him to go and stay there the rest of the Day, when he came to present his Petition; That they found him in that House,

in the Company of Father *Veret* Confeſſor of the Nuns of *Gaine*, of *Mathurin Rouſſeau*, and of *Nicolas Benoit* Canons, and one *Coutis* a Phyſician, from whoſe Mouth they underſtood that 'twas above then Two Hours that they had been together. The Magiſtrates went away after they heard this Report, and the Prior of the *Carmelites* went into the Choir where the Superior remain'd; She had again ſome Convulſions, during which one of the *Carmelite* Friars ask'd her again, *where Grandier was at that time*, ſhe anſwer'd, *that he was walking with the Bayliff in the Church of Saint Croſſe*, but they, who had ſuggeſted to her this Anſwer, were deceiv'd in their Conjecture, for *de Canaye*, *Sieur de Granfonds*, and *John Ceſvet* Counſellor, being gone to know whether the Devil had gueſs'd better than at the Firſt time, they went into the Church of Saint *Croſſe*, where finding not the Bayliff, they went up to the Palace and there found him, holding a Court; he aſſur'd them that he came directly thither, when he went out of the Convent, and that he had not at all ſeen *Grandier*. The Exorciſt not knowing how to prevent ſuch troubleſome Experiments as had been put upon them that Day, reſolv'd at laſt to make the Nuns ſay, that they would no longer have the Exorciſms perform'd, either in the Preſence of the Bayliff, or of the other Officers who uſually accompanied him. *Grandier* having had Notice of this Reſolution, preſented again another Petition to the Bayliff the Day following, the Twenty Seventh of *November*, remonſtrating, that the pretended Poſſeſſion had been contriv'd and ſuggeſted with Deſign, only to blaſt his Reputation, and to render him odious and unprofitable to the Church of GOD; That

his Enemies had employ'd all their Credit, and all Sorts of Artifices to make it believ'd real, but that having not been able to ſucceed, they had call'd together from all Parts, Perſons engag'd and at their Devotion, to make uſe of their Teſtimonies; That theſe Practices were very prejudicial to the Public, to Religion, and to him the Petitioner, whoſe Name was conſiderable for his Character and Dignity, and that he was nevertheleſs horribly blacken'd, unjuſtly reproach'd and defam'd; That it being impoſſible to clear this Affair, and attain to the Knowledge of the Truth by ſuch Practices, he continued to requeſt the Sequeſtration of the pretended Poſſeſſed, and that they might be taken out of the Hands of *Mignon*, *Barre*, and *Granger*, and their Adherents, and put into the Hands of the Eccleſiaſticks approv'd by the moſt Reverend Biſhop of *Poictiers*, and of Phyſicians, and other Perſons, whom it ſhould pleaſe the Bayliff to nominate, to the Intent that the Innocence of him, the Petitioner, might be known and manifeſted; Deſiring that it might be order'd, that the Sequeſtration ſhould be perform'd, whatſoever Oppoſition or Appeals notwithſtanding, and without Prejudice thereof. There was again writ at the Bottom of the Petition, that Right ſhould be done him in due time, The Requeſt appear'd to be equitable and juſt, but it ſeem'd very difficult to attempt the Sequeſtration of the Nuns, to the Prejudice of their Oppoſition, which was grounded upon their being dependent on the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction; and they fear'd that the Biſhop of *Poictiers* and the Clergy would be offended, and cauſe the Procedure to be diſanull'd: Therefore they were contented to Aſſemble the Inhabitants of the Town, to conſider of what might be done

done for the publick good: The result of this Assembly was, That they should write to the Attorney General, and the Bishop of *Poictiers*, and that they should send the Verbal Process which had been made; and that they should beseech them to stop by their Authority and Prudence, the course of these dangerous Intrigues. The Attorney General answer'd, that the Matter in question being purely Ecclesiastical, the Parliament ought not to take cognizance of it; and the Bishop made no answer at all.

Sect. 42. But that Prelate continued not so silent upon the Requests which were made to him, by the Enemies of *Grandier*, the Authors and Favourers of the Pessession. The ill success the Exorcisms had the Twenty Sixth of *November*, having oblig'd them to use more precaution, they judg'd it requisite to obtain of the Bishop a new Commission, by which he should nominate some Churchmen to assist on his part at the Exorcisms. *Barre* took a Journey forthwith to *Poictiers*, and the Bishop nam'd *Basil*, Dean of the Canons of *Champigni*, and *Demorans*, Dean of the Canons of *Thouars*, each of them being the Kinsmen of the Secret Enemies of *Grandier*, whom they had chosen and nam'd. This is the Copy of the Commission:

Sect. 43. Henry Lewis le Chateigner, *of* Rochepozai, *by Divine Mercy, Bishop of* Poictiers, *to the Deans of the Jurisdiction of Saint* Peter *of* Thouars, *and* Champigni *upon* Vede, *greeting; We Command you by these presents, to repair to the Town of* Loudun, *to the Convent of the Nuns of Saint* Ursula, *to assist at the Exorcisms which shall be made by the* Sieur Barre, *of the Nuns of the said Monastery, tormented by evil Spirits, to which* Barre *we have given that Commission,*

And

And to the end also a Verbal Process may be made of all that shall pass, and for this purpose to take such a Clerk as shall seem good to you. Given and made at Poictiers, *the Twenty Eighth of* November. 1632. *signed,* Henry Lewis, *Bishop of* Poictiers *and lower, by the Command of the said Lord.* Michelet.

Sect. 46. These two new Commissioners, without more ado, went immediately to *Loudun*, and being instructed and prepar'd, as they were before their nomination, they begun from the first of *December* to assist at the Exorcisms, and to make their Verbal Process of what past there; *Marescot*, one of the Queen's Almoners, assisted there also. This Princess had heard of the Possession of the *Ursuline* Nuns; but no body being able to inform her, but confusedly, she desir'd it might be made clear, and order'd her Almoner to make a journey to *Loudun*, and to take an exact account of all the Circumstances of this Matter, to give her a faithful Relation. He arriv'd at *Loudun* the last Day of *November*, and went to the Convent the next Day in the Morning, to see what past in the presence of the two Deans delegated by the Bishop. The Bailiff, and the Lieutenant Civil, whose Verbal Process had been publish'd, and sent into many Places, fear'd lest he should be prepossess'd, or abus'd, and that he might make a Report to the Court, which might cause a doubt of the Truth of those things contain'd in the Verbal Process; Wherefore they repair'd thither also, notwithstanding the Protestations which had been made not to receive them; They were accompanied by their Assessor, the Lieutenant of the Provostship, and one of the Registers Deputy; they knock'd a long time, before they would open to them;

them: At laſt, there came a Nun to the Gate, to tell them that they muſt not come in, and that they were ſuſpected, having publiſh'd abroad, that the Poſſeſſion was but a Fiction and Impoſture. The Bailiff without ſtaying to contend with this young Nun, order'd her to cauſe *Barre* to come, who appear'd ſometime after, arrayed in his Prieſtly Habits. The Bailiff complain'd in the preſence of *Mareſcot*, that the Gate was not o-pen'd to him and the other Officers with him, which was contrary even to the Orders of the Biſhop of *Poictiers*. *Barre* declar'd, that for his part he hindered not their coming in. We are come, repli'd the Bailiff, to that intent, and alſo to entreat you to put Two or Three Queſtions to the pretended Devil, which ſhall be propos'd, and ſhall be conformable to what is preſcrib'd in the Ritual; you will not doubtleſs refuſe, (added he) to make this proof, in the preſence of the Queen's Almoner, who is ſent from Her, ſeeing that it will be a moſt effectual means to diſſipate all ſuſpition of Suggeſtion and Impoſture. I will do it, if I pleaſe, reply'd the Exorciſt, in an impudent Manner; 'tis your Duty to do it, ſaid the Bailiff, at leaſt, if you proceed with ſincerity, ſeeing that this would be rather to abuſe G O D, than to glorifie him by a falſe Miracle; and rather injure Religion, than to authoriſe its Truth by Cheats and Illuſions. *Barre* anſwer'd, that he was a Man of Probity, that they knew to what his Office oblig'd him, and that he ſhould do his Duty; but as for them, they ought to remember, that the laſt time they aſſiſted at the Exorciſms, they went away in a Paſſion. The Magiſtrates, after many repeated inſtances having obtain'd nothing, expreſly forbid him to put any Queſtion which might tend to de-

fame

fame any one, of whatsoever quality he was, upon pain of being treated as a Seditious Person, and a Disturber of the publick Peace. He reply'd to him again, That he did not acknowledge their Jurisdiction. Whereupon they retir'd.

Sect. 47. The Possession, doubtless, would have gain'd a new Reputation, by the Direction of the two Deans, who were entirely at the Devotion of the Enemies of *Grandier*, if the report of the coming of the Archbishop of *Bourdeaux*, more efficacious than all the Exorcisms, had not broke the Measures which had been taken. He had Power to make the Devils disappear, to raise the courage of the Person accus'd, and to restore to the Nuns Peace and Tranquillity, which they had the Gift to acquire, and to loose, as often as it was judg'd expedient for the end which had been propos'd to them. In effect, the Archbishop was no sooner arriv'd at Saint *Jouin*, but he sent his Physician to *Loudun*, with an Order to see the Persons pretended to be possessed, and to consider well, and examine all their Grimaces, Distortions, and Convulsions; and recommended him to *Mignon*, by a Letter, to the end that this Canon should not fail to let him have an exact knowledge of the condition they were in. *Mignon* brought him to the Convent, and let him see the Superior, and Sister *Claire*; but he told him, that they had been miraculously deliver'd from the evil Spirits. He had no trouble to perswade him that they were not then possessed; for the Physician found them peaceable, quiet, and compos'd, as if they never had any disturbance; and after his return to Saint *Jouin*, it was not known that any new Accidents happen'd to them. *Grandier* attended sometime

to

to judge by the Steps that were made, if there were reaſon to hope that the Poſſeſſion were at an end; or whether it was not to be fear'd, that the Devils would return to *Loudun*, when the Archbiſhop ſhould be gone. But at laſt this fear having prevail'd upon him and his Friends, he preſented his Petition to that Prelate, the Twenty Seventh of *December*, and remonſtrated, That his Enemies having endeavour'd to oppreſs him by a falſe and calumnious Accuſation, and having not been able to ſucceed, becauſe he had been ſent back abſolv'd, as well by his Lordſhip's equitable Judgment, as by the Sentence of the Preſidial of *Poictiers*, in the Quality of Judges delegated by the Court, they had for Three Months laſt paſt ſuppos'd, and publiſh'd every where, that he had ſent evil Spirits into the Bodies of the Nuns of Saint *Urſula* of *Loudun*, to whom he had never ſpoke. That beſides, *John Mignon*, their Confeſſor was his Mortal Enemy, and one of the Authors of the firſt Accuſation which had been rais'd againſt him, had not forborn to exorciſe them ſecretly; That having aſſociated to him *Peter Barre*, Prieſt of the Dioceſe of *Thouars*, and ſome other Eccleſiaſtick Seculars and Regulars, they boaſted of having Three or Four times, driven away the pretended Devils, who were as often return'd by new Pacts, which they ſuggeſted to be made between the Devils and him the Petitioner; That he had made known to *Mignon* and *Barre*, that they were ſuſpected by him; the one by reaſon of the Differences that were between them, and the other, becauſe of his ſtrange Proceedings, and his Friendſhip with the former: But that they had not forborn to aſſiſt the Nuns, and to be near them Day and Night with their Adherents; That he addreſt himſelf to the Judges of the Place, to be ſecur'd from the

the Fury of the People, whom they excited against him; and also his Lord the Bishop of *Poictiers*, who had caus'd his Almoner to tell him, that he desir'd not to be concern'd in this business; That to the prejudice of the Declaration, which he had made to *Barre*, he had got by surprize, from the Bishop, a new Power, to exorcise in the Presence of the Deans of the Canons of *Thouars* and *Champigni*, who are near Kinsmen of his profest Enemies. That during Three several pretended Possessions, *Mignon* and *Barre* had made it their business to put Questions manifestly tending to defame him, and to raise a sedition against him; that he had reason to fear, that these Devils whom his coming had put to flight, would return as soon as he was gone; and that the innocence of him the Petitioner might be over-whelm'd, by the strange Artifices of so many Enemies, cruelly bent against him, if this Matter were left in the same confusion, as it had been till then, for want of a lawful Authority to decide it. He requested him to consider all these Reasons, and that he would be pleas'd to forbid *Barre*, *Mignon*, and their Adherents, as well Seculars as Regulars, in case of a new Possession, to exorcise for the time to come, and to govern the Persons pretended to be possess'd; appointing such other Persons, Ecclesiasticks and Laicks, whom he should think fit, to see them dieted, physick'd, and exorcis'd, if it were needful, and that all should be done in the presence of the Magistrate; And finally, that he would be pleas'd to Order the Persons pretending to be possess'd, to be sequestred, to prevent all evil suspitions, and to make the Truth evident.] Here follows the Ordinance, which the Archbishop writ at the bottom of the Petition.

Sect.

Sect. 48. Having ſeen the preſent Petition, and heard our Promoter upon the ſame, we have referr'd the Petitioner to our Promoter at Poictiers, *to do him Right. And in the mean while we have commanded the* Sieur Barre, Father l'Eſcaye *Jeſuit, reſiding at* Poictiers, *and* Father Gau *of the Oratory, reſiding at* Thouars, *to take upon them the Exorciſms, if there ſhould be need, according to the Order we have given them to this end; forbidding all others to intermeddle in the ſaid Exorciſms, upon the Penalties of the Law.*

This is alſo the Order mention'd in that Ordinance.

The Order ſent by the Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux*, to the Bailiff of *Loudun*, to be obſerv'd at the Exorciſms of the *Urſulin* Nuns, in caſe of a new Poſſeſſion.

F*irſt, aſſoon as the* Sieur Barre *ſhall have notice hereof, he ſhall take with him* Father l'Eſcaye, *Jeſuit of* Poictiers, *and* Father Gau *of the Oratory of* Thouars; *and all Three ſhall in their turns, and in the preſence of Two others, perform the Office of the Exorciſm, in caſe that it be needful; they ſhall ſeparate the poſſeſſed from the Company of the Society, putting her into ſuch a borrow'd Houſe, as they ſhall judge proper for this purpoſe, without leaving any of her Acquaintance with her, except one of the Nuns, who had never before that time been poſſeſs'd. They ſhall cauſe her to be viſited by two or three of the ableſt Catholic Phyſicians of the Province; Who, after their having conſider'd ſome days, or purg'd her, if they think it fit, ſhall make their Report. After the report of the Phyſicians, they ſhall endeavour by Menaces and Diſciplines, if they*

Judge it requisite, or other natural means to discover the truth, and whether the Possession be not grounded either on humours, or on her Willfulness; after these things, if they see some supernatural Signs, as her answering the thoughts of the Three Exorcists, which they shall tell their Companions secretly, and that she declares many things that were done in a far distant place, or where there is no suspition, that she could know it at the time she is requir'd to tell it: Or, that in many and different Languages, she makes a Discourse of Eight or Ten words congruous and coherent; and that being bound Hand and Foot, and laid upon a Quilt on the ground, where they shall suffer her to lie without any one coming near her, she shall raise her self up from the ground, some considerable time. In this case, they shall proceed to the Exorcisms, Fastings and Prayers, being previously observ'd; And in case that they come to the Exorcisms, they shall do all their endeavour to make the Devil give some visible, and not suspicious Sign of his going out; and in executing this present Order, any other Priests, if they are not call'd by the common consent of the Three Commissaries, and not suspected, shall not intermeddle, upon Pain of Excommunication, speak to, nor touch in any manner of Fashion the possessed. And in case there are more at the same time, the same order shall be observ'd. And to the intent that some Libertines may not speak ill of the care the Church takes in such an occurrence to know the Truth of the Possessions, and of the charitable Succours that its Ministers bring, the Judges, the Bailiff and Lieutenant Criminal only, and no others, are desir'd to assist at the execution of the present Order; and to sign the Verbal Process, which shall be made by the Persons nominated, who shall take for their Register, the Prior of the Abby of Saint Jouin. And forasmuch as there will be occasion for great Expences, as well for the

the removal of the Nuns, as for calling in Physicians, for the charge of Diet, for Exorcists, and for Women to be appointed to attend the Sick; We have order'd (considering the Poverty of the Convent) that the expence shall be defray'd by us; and for this Purpose, we have forthwith Commanded the Sieur Barre, *to order the Farmer of our Abby of Saint* Jouin, *to furnish them with such Sums of Money as they shall have need of. And if the above nam'd* Father l'Escaye, *and* Father Gau, *are not at* Poictiers *and at* Thouars, *or for some reason they cannot be met with, the Superiors of the Convents shall supply their default, by furnishing others of an equal merit, if possible.*

Sect. 47. As soon as this Order was publick, the Possession intirely ceas'd, all the Rumours vanish'd, *Barre* retir'd to *Chinon*, the Two Deans return'd to their Chapter, and the Nuns continued in quiet within their Convent; the Devils shewing more regard to the Cross alone, which the Archbishop had made at the top of his Writing, than the infinite number of the Signs of the Cross which the Exorcists had made over those Persons in the time of their agitations. The difference of the Procedure of this Prelate, and of that of the Bishop of *Poictiers*, produc'd also very differing sentiments in the minds of honest, well-meaning People; the justice, impartiality and charity of the first, gain'd their esteem; But the insensibleness, or Connivance of the latter (to say nothing more) left him blemish'd with a Stain, which nothing was able to obliterate. In the mean time, *Grandier* being taught by two dreadful Experiments, fear'd that there were new Snares laid for him; and considering that the Bailiff had but one Copy of this Order, which was sent him in a Let-

ter by the Archbishop; and that the Original was in the Hands of *Barre*; he remonstrated to the Judge, that these Papers might be lost, or at least supprest in time, if care were not taken to prevent it; and besought him, to put the Copy and Letter (which he had receiv'd) into the Registry, with the Petition by which the Order was obtain'd, to the end, that recourse might be had to them if there should be occasion. The Bailiff granted his request, and the said Writings were put into the Registry the Twenty First of *March*, 1633.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE Devils of Loudun:

Or, an Account of the Possession of the *Ursuline Nuns.* AND THE Condemnation and Punishment of *URBAN GRANDIER*, a Parson of the same Town.

BOOK II.

Sect. 1. THE prudent Orders which the Archbishop of *Bourdeaux* had left, were very powerful in keeping the Nuns, the Exorcists, and even the Devils themselves in silence; but they hindred not the People from speaking and declaiming against all those who had been con-

cern'd in, or favour'd so detestable a supposition. There were only some Bigots, who entirely and blindly submitted to the Monks and Churchmen, that withstood the proofs of the falshood of the pretended Possession. They took away the Boarders that were in the Convent of the *Ursulines*; they forbore to send thither to School the young Maids of the Town; and shew'd them all sorts of Marks of Contempt and Aversion; their very kindred were asham'd to have any commerce with them again, and the greatest part forsook them: This disposition of minds towards them, cast them into despair. They blam'd *Mignon*, and reproach'd him, that instead of all the advantages spiritual and temporal that he had made them hope for, they saw themselves overwhelm'd with Misery and Infamy. The Canon fretted, by his own displeasure needed no Provocations to excite his Malice and Rage: He spent Days and Nights in devising which way he might re-establish his own Reputation, and that of the Nuns, and revenge the Affronts he had receiv'd. The Enterprize was great, and sufficient to quell a Spirit less obstinate and less passionate. He had already experimented the difficulties, and there was a probability that he should never bring it to pass, if something, which he could not foresee, had not happen'd, and offer'd a new occasion, favourable for the execution of his Design.

Sect. 2. A resolution had been taken, in the King's Council, to demolish all the Castles and Fortresses which were in the Heart of *France*, and to preserve only those of the Frontiers. Cardinal *Richelieu*, who was the Author of this Design, was not willing to let the Castle of the Town of *Loudun* stand; for the demolishing whereof he had particular Reasons,

Reaſons,and which he had very well purſued,by cauſing one part of the Right and Juriſdiction of *Loudun*, to be transferr'd,and given to his Town of *Richelieu* although he ſucceeded not in the Project he had form'd, to oblige the better ſort of the Inhabitants to go and People his own Town, thoſe who had a Mind to retire, to change their Habitations, having choſe rather to go ſeek for places of protection and ſafeguard any where elſe The Commiſſion to raze this Fortreſs, was given to *Lauberdemont*. He was one of thoſe Men who were abſolutely devoted to the Cardinal, and whom he employ'd, when he had a Mind to exterminate, ruin, and ſhed Blood unjuſtly, by obſerving, nevertheleſs, the Forms of Juſtice. He had been already made many times a Commiſſary on theſe Bloody Occaſions, and had the Honour to be often ſo afterwards: He came to *Loudun* to acquit himſelf of the Employment which had been given him. His principal converſation was preſently with *Memin de Silly*, a Creature alſo of the Cardinal; *Mignon* and all his Friends apply'd themſelves to *Memin*; he preſented them to *Laubardemont*, by whom they were very kindly receiv'd,and who averr'd, that he would be concern'd for the affront which had been done to all the party, and to the Nuns, whoſe Superior was his Kinſwoman. They conſulted to find out ſome means, by which they might engage the Cardinal to concur with their Deſigns, by ſome intereſt which might touch him in particular, and they fail'd not; For what pretences will not treachery, hatred and revenge make uſe of? And what are they not capable to invent or diſcover?

Sect. 3. There was at that time, about the Queen-Mother, a Woman nam'd *Hammon*, who pleas'd that Princeſs upon an Occaſion, in which ſhe had the Honour to talk to her; ſhe was Born at *Loudun*, amongſt the ordinary People, and there ſhe had ſpent the greater part of her Life; *Grandier* who had been her Parſon, and who knew all the ingenious Women in his Pariſh, was particularly acquainted with her. There had been publiſh'd under her Name, a Bloody Satyr againſt the Miniſters, but above all, againſt the Cardinal, wherein many Particularities of his Life and Miniſtry were laid open, for which he ſhew'd much diſpleaſure, and a very deep reſentment. The Conſpirators judg'd it convenient to attribute this Piece to *Grandier*, and to give out, that he kept a conſtant Correſpondence, by Letters, with the ſaid *Hammon*, of whom he muſt needs learn what was contain'd in that Satyr. There was ſo much the more probability in this accuſation, that the Satyr had been publiſh'd during the diſgrace of the Cardinal, who formerly, when he was but Prior of *Couſſai*, had little piques againſt *Grandier*, who pretending himſelf the firſt of the Eccleſiaſticks of *Loudun*, would no ways yield in any thing to the Prior of *Couſſai*. This contrivance was approv'd by *Laubardemont* as very excellent, and likely to produce in the Mind of the Cardinal an eager deſire for revenge, to which he was naturally inclin'd. They brought after this, the Commiſſary, to ſee the Grimaces, Poſtures and Convulſions of the Nuns, who had, by this time, acquir'd new Degrees of perfection in their management; by the practice of which they were found very dextrous and expert in the Art of Counterfeiting Devils. *Laubardemont* at leaſt ſeem'd

ſeem'd exceedingly ſatisfied, and promis'd to Second their endeavours as ſoon as he was at *Paris*; whither he return'd as ſoon as the Caſtle was entirely demoliſh'd.

Sect. 4. At his departure, he left at *Loudun* the Devils, which his preſence had recall'd thither, though they had been diſperſt by the preſence of the Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux*. They return'd then, as into a Houſe ſwept and garniſh'd, fit to receive many others, who fail'd not to accompany them thither. The Superior and Siſter *Clair*, had not the Honour only to receive theſe gueſts; They took poſſeſſion of Five other Nuns, beſides Six which were beſet, and two bewitch'd. They took alſo a turn to the Town of *Chinon*, where they lodg'd themſelves as it were in the Houſe of a Friend and Acquaintance, with Two very Devout ſecular Maids, whoſe Confeſſor *Barre* was, as *Mignon* was of thoſe at *Loudun*, poſſeſſed, beſet, or bewitch'd. There was written afterwards by theſe Prieſts, or by their Friends, a Book, intituled, *The Demonomania of Loudun*, wherein are contain'd, all the Names of the Devils, and of all the Maids who were Tormented, whoſe Pains and Sufferings being therein deſcrib'd, without doubt, excited an extraordinary compaſſion in the Hearts of all good Perſons who read it, and gave credit to all that was there related.

Sect. 5. Whilſt the Devils were thus employ'd, to the great Aſtoniſhment of all People who believ'd that they would never preſume to return, and who could not comprehend or divine upon what Ground they had that Confidence, *Laubardemont*, who was at *Paris*, made ſuch good uſe of his Credit, and Application in their Favour, that

he receiv'd an Order to go back to *Loudun*, to be the Arbitrator of their Practises, and preside at all their Commerce. He arriv'd there the Sixth of *December* 1633. at eight of the Clock in the Evening, and came to the House of *Paul Aubin Sieur de Bourneuf*, and Son in Law to *Memin*. His coming was so secret, because of the Hour and Situation of the Place, which was in the Suburb, that *Grandier* and his Friends had no Knowledge of it; *Memin*, *Herve* and *Menuau* being quickly come to him, he boasted of his Cunning in the Prepossessing the Cardinal, who was highly provok'd, and had put into his Hands the Care of his Revenge; and afterwards gave them Proofs of the Diligence he had us'd, by shewing them his Commission dated but the last Day of *November*, and the Contents whereof were as follows:

Sect. 6 That the Sieur Laubardemont, *Counsellor of the King in his Council of State and Privy Council, shall go to* Loudun *and other Places as there shall be Occasion, to inform, with Diligence, against* Grandier *upon all the Facts of which he has been heretofore accus'd, and others which shall be a new laid to his Charge Concerning the Possession of the Ursuline Nuns of* Loudun, *and other Persons who are said to be possess'd and tormented by Devils, by the Sorcery of the said* Grandier, *and of all that which has past since the Beginning, as well of their Exorcisms, as otherwise, upon the Fact of the said Possession; To make Report by the Verbal Processes and other Acts of the Commissaries delegated thereunto; To assist at the Exorcisms that shall be made; And of all, to make a Verbal Process, and otherwise to proceed as shall be fitting for the Proof and absolute veryfing the said Facts; And upon the whole, to decreee, instruct, make, and cause to be made Process against the said* Grandier,

dier, *and all others whom they shall find complices in the said Case, even to a definite Sentence exclusively, notwithstanding any Opposition, Appeal or Recusation whatsoever; for which, and without Prejudice to the same, it shall not be delay'd, even considering the Quality of the Crimes, without having Regard to the Appeal which may be demanded by the said* Grandier; *His Majesty commanding all the Governours, Lieutenant Generals of the* Province, *and all the Bailiffs, Seneshals, &c. And other Officers of the Town, and Persons whom it may Concern for the Execution hereof, to give all Assistance, and Aid, and Imprisonment, if there be cause, and that they shall be requir'd.*

Sect. 7. He shew'd also Two Ordinances of the King *Signed Louis*, and lower, *Philippeaux*, dated the same last Day of *November*, 1633. *Ordaining the said* Laubardemont *to cause the said* Grandier *and his Complices to be imprison'd, with the like Command to all the Marshalls, Provosts, &c. and other Officers and Persons, to assist the Execution of the said Ordinance, and to obey, for the Doing thereof, all the Orders that should be given by the said* Lauberdemont; *And to the Governours and Lieutenant Generals, to give all Assistance which shuld be requir'd of them.*

Sect. 8. This large and extraordinary Power which was given to *Laubardemont*, very pleasingly surpriz'd the Company which came to hear it read; but when it was publish'd, 'twas not less surprizing, although after a very different Manner, to all the honest People who beheld this Affair with a just and disinterested Eye. They could not sufficiently wonder that he had again been allow'd to inform upon all the Facts of which *Grandier* had been heretofore accus'd, and upon those

those which should be laid to him again, as the Commission imported. The Astonishment however increas'd yet, when they saw with what Violence they us'd the Authority they had in their Hands; for they began, contrary to all the Rules of Justice, with the Imprisonment of *Grandier*, before they had made any Information against him, to the End, that this Blow might be consider'd as coming from the Hand of the King; or rather as Anathema darted by the Cardinal, and which was sufficient to dishearten all the Friends of *Grandier*, encourage the Witnesses whom they would produce against him, and give the Nuns more Liberty and Confidence to act the Parts which were appointed them. For this Purpose, ***William Aubin Sieur de la Grange***, Brother of *Bourneuf*, and Lieutenant of the Provost, was sent for by *Laubardemont*, who imparted to him his Commission and the Ordinances of his Majesty, by Virtue of which, he order'd him that next Morning betimes he should seize the Person of *Grandier*. As this Officer did not believe himself oblig'd to be altogether of the Opinion of *Memin*, the Father-in-Law of his Brother, he caus'd *Grandier* to be secretly inform'd with the Orders he had receiv'd. *Grandier*, who did not think himself guilty, return'd Thanks to *Grange* for his Generosity, and sent him Word, that confiding in his Innocence, and the Mercy of GOD, he resolv'd not to go aside: So he rose next Morning before Day, according to his Custom, and went with his Breviary in his Hand to the Church of Saint *Crosse*, to assist at *Matins*. As soon as he was out of the House, *la Grange* seiz'd on him, and arrested him Prisoner in the Presence of *Memin*

and

and a great Number of his other Enemies, who were desirous to feed their Eyes with this Spectacle, and to watch the Proceedings of *Grange*, of whose Intention they were not assur'd. At the same instant, the Seal Royal was set upon his Chambers and Presses, and all other Places of his House, and upon his Moveables; and *John Pouquct Archer* of the Guards to his Majesty, and the *Archers* of the Provost of *Loudun* and *Chinon*, were commanded to conduct him to the Castle of *Angers*. There he remain'd above Four Months in Prison, where *Michelon* Commandant of the Place, order'd him to be put. He shew'd, during that time, much Resignation and Constancy, writing often Prayers and Meditations, the Manuscript whereof, which was Twelve Sheets in Quarto was produc'd at his Tryal, but very unserviceably; as also the Advantageous Testimony which was given of him by *Peter Bacher* Canon, who was his Confessor, and who gave him the Communion during his Confinement at *Angers*.

Sect. 9 *Laubardemont* deferr'd not long to search the House of the Prisoner, and to make an Inventory of his Books, Papers and Moveables; He found nothing sufficient to hurt him, but a Treatise against Celibacy, writ with his own Hand, and Two Sheets of French Verses, which were never publish'd, but which his Judges treated as lascivious and immodest, without declaring that they were writ, and much less compos'd by him. They were not contented to seize these Pieces, they carried away all the Papers, Evidences, Sentences of Absolution, which the Person accus'd might have made use of in his Defence, notwithstanding the

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Complaints and Oppositions of *Jane Estievre* his Mother, then Seventy Years of Age. As they did not proceed continually and without Intermission in making this Inventory, it was not finish'd till the last Day of *January*, 1634. and in the Mean time they fail'd not to begin an Information on the Second of the precedent Month. *Peter Fournier*, an Advocate, perform'd the Office of the King's Attorney; The Mother of *Grandier* seem'd much afflicted, because he was the Son-in-Law of *Richard* a Proctor, against whom she had complain'd, for that he went at Midnight into a House to perswade Two Women to depose falsely against her Son; But *Fournier* requir'd very quickly after to be discharg'd of his Commission, in the Execution whereof One may very probably conclude, that he found his Conscience touch'd, because through all the Course of his Life, before and since that time, he was always accounted a Man of Honour and Integrity.

Sect. 10. This First Information was not so soon finish'd, but that there was another made the Nineteenth of the same Month; and the Thirtieth they began to draw up in writing the Depositions of the Nuns. The Friends and Counsell of *Grandier's* Mother did their utmost to oppose the Torrent of so strange and violent a Procedure: She presented, by their Advice, the Seventeenth of *December*, a Petition to the Commissary, wherein she appeal'd from him, because he was the Kinsman of the Superior of the Nuns, That he lodg'd at the House of one of her Son's Enemies; That he had made him a Prisoner before any Information or Decree was made against him; That he had made the Lieutenant of the

the Provoſt one of the Aſſiſtants, who was one of *Grandier's* Mortal Enemies, when they ſeiz'd upon his Perſon; That he had depriv'd him of all Means to defend himſelf, by ſeizing on all his Papers, and by cauſing him to be carried out of *Loudun*. But far from allowing of ſo juſt Reaſons for an Appeal, This is the Order which *Laubardemont* writ at the Bottom of the Petition. *That conſidering his Commiſſion, and not being inform'd from any other Part of any juſt and true Cauſe to Supercede, he ſhould proceed to the Execution of the ſaid Commiſſion, notwithſtanding and without Regard to the ſaid Petition, and without Prejudice to the Petitioner to addreſs her ſelf, to his Majeſty, if it ſhall ſeem good to her ſo to do.* They urg'd him to declare concerning the Truth or Falſhhood, the allowing or diſallowing of the Facts contain'd in the Petition; but he would do nothing, and never anſwer'd but in General Terms.

Sect. 11. Without the Clauſe which impower'd this Commiſſary to proceed notwithſtanding any Oppoſition, Appeal, or Recuſation, it is certain, all his Proceedings would have been diſannull'd. For beſides the Cauſes of Appeal before produc'd, there were every Day new Ones preſented which were very lawful. *Mignon*, *Memin*, *and Menuau*, *Mouſſaut*, *and Herve* were always at his Elbow, and he made no Difficulty to hear the Witneſſes in their Preſence. There were however ſome who ſtuck not to depoſe for the Diſcharge of the Perſon accus'd, but their Depoſitions were not taken in Writing, and they were ſent away with many Threats, to the End that thoſe who were examin'd next, ſhould not follow their Examples. They publiſh'd alſo a Monitory,

nitory, gloss'd with many Additions, done by by several Hands, and stuff'd with infamous Facts, the Reading whereof one could not hear without Horrour. The Name of *Grandier* was mention'd therein, and the Crimes, the Knowledge whereof they sought for, were so foul and abominable, that the Ears of all good Men were scandaliz'd. *Mounier*, the Priest who had had a Suit against him, and who had been a Witness in the First Affair, of which Mention has been made before, was chose to make this Publication, as if they had a Mind to make use of Persons suspected, and that they gloried in trespassing upon all the Forms of Justice, and Bounds of Equity.

Sect. 12. Tho' these Ways of Proceeding were so extraordinary that there was some Hope that they should not continue, *Grandier's* Mother would not stand idle, or neglect any thing which might contribute to the Defence of her Son. Therefore she caus'd an Act to be given to *Laubardemont* the Third of *January*, 1634. wherein she declar'd, that she Appeal'd from his Order of the Twelth of *December*, 1633. and would take upon her to question it; Whereupon he order'd the same Day,

Sect. 13. *That without any Regard to her Appeals, Proceedings should be made as well by him, as by the King's Attorney, nam'd in the said Commission; and that the Publication of the Monitory obtain'd by the Attorney of the King should be continued, with Prohibitions to all Persons to terrifie the Witnesses, and in Case of Contravention, the Attorney was permitted to make Information.* The Bishop of *Poictiers* fail'd not on his Part to concurr with this Proceeding, and without regarding the Order left by the Arch-bishop, his Superior, he sent another far less proper to attain the Knowledge of the Truth

Truth. *Grandier's* Mother Appeal'd from this new Order, to the King, by a Writ of Error, and gave a Copy of that Order of the Archbishop to the Bishop of *Laubardemont*, to the end, that they should not plead Ignorance. *Grandier's* Brother presented likewise Two Petitions, the Ninth and Tenth and *January*, the one to have a Copy of the Monitory which had been publish'd, the other to the Intent that it might be carried to the Registry, and that there should be made by the Petitioner a Verbal Process *cum Figura*; It was answer'd, *That there was no Room at Present to allow of these Petitions.* They Appeal'd from this Order, the Act of Appeal was signified the same Tenth Day of *January*, The Twelfth of the said Month they gave Notice that they took upon them the Defence, which having produc'd no Effect with the Commissary, *Grandier's* Mother presented another Petition the Seventeenth of the same Month, containing new Causes of Appeal, which were no more allow'd of than the First; for 'twas order'd, *That having consider'd that the Causes of Appeal were not pertinent or fit to be allow'd, he would proceed further, saving to her the Petitioner to address her self to the King, as she should think good.*

Sect. 14. When she had receiv'd Notice of this Order, she also the next Day after signified an Act of Appeal by *Lambert* and *Bertrand*, Ushers, and at the same time a Relief of Appeal was sued out by Commission, in the Chancery of the Parliament of *Paris*, the Fourteenth of the foregoing Month; But the Commissary tore the Acts, the King's Attorney requiring it, *as Null, and done by an Attempt to the prejudice of the Power given him by his Majesty, ordaining as heretofore*

that they should go on without any Intermission, and proceed to the Instruction of the said Process, and for these Ends, the Publication of the Monitory shall be continued by me. ——Rene le Mounier, *and others shall be requir'd by the King's Attorney, who together with the said* le Mounier, *the Register, and others are by him discharged of the Assignations given them to appear in the said Court, with Prohibitions to the said* Bertrand *and all other Vshers and Sergeants, to serve any Writs, whither by Virtue of the said Relief or Appeal, or otherwise upon Pain of Exemplary Punishment*; This strange Order, dated the Twenty first of *January*, having been signified to the Party, she Appeal'd from it, as from the other, and the Act of Appeal was signified the Twenty Seventh of the same Month to *Giles Pouquet*, to be put into the Hands of *Laubardemont.*

Sect. 15. The course of all these proceedings, in which they were busily imploy'd, delay'd for a while, that of the Possession. They did not however omit to Exorcise from time to time, according to the new Order of the Bishop, but *Laubardemont* having not leisure to assist at the Exorcisms, they did not pursue them with the same Vigour, nor had they the same reputation they gain'd since. Besides, there remain'd yet in the Mind of the Conspirators some fear, that the Parliament would take some Cognizance of this Affair; and for this reason they judg'd it convenient to suspend it for a time, to the end, they may know better what Measures they ought to take in it. In the mean while, they sought all sort of ways to authorise themselves on the Execution of the Designs they had projected. They besought the Bishop of *Poictiers* to come himself, or to send some

ſome conſiderable Eccleſiaſtick, to act in his Name. That Prelate forthwith ſent a new Commiſſion to the ſame *Demorans*, Dean of the Canons of *Thouars*, and Bachellor in Divinity, of the Faculty of *Paris*, to aſſiſt in the Quality of his Vicegerent, at the inſtruction of the Proceſs of *Grandier*, notwithſtanding he was the Kinſman and Friend of his chief Enemies, and that they had not fail'd to inform the Biſhop of it. The Second of *Feburary*, *Laubardemont* brought the Vicegerent to *Angers*, with the King's Attorney, and *James Nizai*, Clerk of the Commiſſion; and he began the Fourth of the ſame Month, and continued every Day, till the Eleventh, to examin *Grandier*. It is not to be found in the Extract of the Proofs which were in the Proceſs, that he had ever contradicted himſelf, nor that he had own'd any thing, whence they could draw an advantage againſt him, except that he confeſt ingenuouſly, that he was the Author of the Manuſcript, againſt the Celibacy of Prieſts, which had been found in his Cloſet.

Sect. 16. The Confeſſions and Denials of the Perſon accus'd upon the Fact which were propos'd, being ſign'd by him, *Laubardemont* return'd to *Paris*, where he reſided all the reſt of the Month of *Feburary*, and part of that of *March*, without acquainting his Friends at *Loudun*, when he would return; which having caſt them into an extraordinary trouble, oblig'd them to ſend to him *Granger*, Curate of *Venier*, to intreat him inſtantly to return to their aſſiſtance, and to propoſe to him on their parts, the conditions on which they recall'd him. That Curate had no great trouble to conclude the Bargain, becauſe his Commiſſion did admirably agree with the Humour and violent

Inclinations of *Laubardemont*. But for prevention of all the inconveniencies which happen'd in the former Journey, and which might yet arise upon Account of the Parliament; he obtain'd the last Day of *May*, a Decree of the Council of State, which was not less strange than the Commission which he had already obtain'd. This Decree imported, *That without having regard to the Appeal intended to be brought into Parliament, and to the Proceedings made in pursuance, which His Majesty has annull'd, It is order'd that the* Sieur Laubardemont, *shall continue the Process begun by him against* Grandier, *notwithstanding, all the Oppositions, Appeals, or Recusations made, or to be made, and without Prejudice to the same. The King, as far as it shall be requisite, having committed to him anew, the Cognizance thereof, and interdicted the same to the Parliament of* Paris, *and all other Judges, with Prohibitions to the Parties to meddle therein, upon the Penalty of Five Hundred Livres Forfeiture.*

Sect. 17. Being Arm'd with such a Decree, which render'd him the supreme Arbitrator in this Matter, *Laubardemont* went to *Loudun* with *Grandier*, the Ninth of *April*, to the great satisfaction of all the *Cabal*. He dispatch'd away forthwith the Archers to *Angers*, to take *Grandier*, and bring him back to *Loudun*; and in the mean time he caus'd an extraordinary Prison to be prepar'd for him, in a House which belong'd to *Mignon*, and which was inhabited by a Sergeant, nam'd *Bontems*, who had been *Trinquants* Clerk, and Witness against *Grandier* in the first Accusation that had been rais'd against him; so that the Person pretended to be possest, had notice of almost all he did and said. *Mignon* caus'd some Windows

of the Chamber appointed to be his Prison, to be wall'd up, which was in the upper Story; he caus'd the Windows which remain'd open, to be secur'd with strong and thick Grates, and the Chimney to be cross'd with thick Bars of Iron, to the end that the Devils might not come to pluck the pretended Magician out of his Chains, who being come from *Angers*, was conducted into his Chamber; where finding himself almost depriv'd of the Light of Day, and lodg'd upon Straw, he writ this Letter to his Mother.

Dear Mother,

Sect. 18. *I Have receiv'd Yours, and all that you have sent me, except the Serge Stockings. I bear my Affliction with patience, and bewail yours more than my own; I am much incommoded, having no Bed; endeavour to get my own brought me, for if the body does not repose, the Spirit will fail; send me also a Breviary, a Bible, and a Saint* Thomas *for my consolation; and for the rest do not afflict your self, I hope GOD will manifest my innocence; Commend me, to my Brother and Sister, and to all our good Friends. This is from your very dutiful Son,*

To serve you,

Grandier.

Sect. 19. When they had thus advanc'd the judicial Proceedings, and the pretended Magician was shut up again, they apply'd themselves to the work of the Possession, and to give it an Air of truth, which it had not had, to that time; for this purpose they judg'd it fit to sequester the Possessed, because that Refusal, which had been made in

in the former Possessions, had seem'd unjust and suspected, and entirely dispos'd the Publick to doubt that they were real and true. Next, they separated the Possessed into three Companies: Sister *Claire*, and *Catherine de la Presentation*, were put into the House of *Maurat* a Canon; The Superior *Louisa de Jesus*, and *Anne de* Saint *Agnes* in the House of *Sieur de la Ville* Advocate, and Counsel to Nuns, and *Elizabeth de la Croix*, *Monique* of Saint *Marthe*, *Jeanne du* Saint *Esprit*, and *Serafique Archer*, were put into another House: They were govern'd by *Memin*'s Sister, the Wife of *Nicolas Moussaut*, who always continued near the Superior, when they exorcis'd her, and whisper'd into her Ear, what she had learn'd of *Bontems* Wife concerning *Grandier*; and who went and came continually, and so publickly, that almost every Body perceiv'd it.

Sect. 20. *Grandier* besought the Judges, that it would please them to order a real and effectual Sequestration, instead of one feign'd and in appearance, such as was that which they pretended to have made, and was but a pure illusion, seeing that 'twas necessary that the Nuns should be lodg'd apart, to stop their talking together, taking Measures, and encouraging them to perform an Exercise, which possibly was more painful than they did imagine; That they should be govern'd by persons unsuspected, whether Churchmen, Physicians, or Women; That they should continue some Months, without having any Communication, either with his Enemies, or the favourers of the Possession; And that then, he doubted not, but that some one would be found, who being press'd by the remorse of her Conscience, and deliver'd from the presence of her Tyrants, would confess the Truth, and make it publickly known. But it was to shun a like disgrace, that the Exorcist had shifted off the

the Demands of a ſequeſtration, and that they agreed not to it then, but becauſe they had a full liberty to it after what manner they pleas'd, as they did effectually, by lodging the Nuns at their choice, and by Companies, and by giving more confident and obſtinate Perſons, for companions to thoſe, who, they believ'd, had a more tender Conſcience, or had leſs Reſolution; which was not properly a Sequeſtration, but a way, by which they ſeem'd to caſt a Miſt before the Eyes of the Publick. Having had no regard to the demand of *Grandier*, they continued to leave the Nuns to be order'd by the Siſter and Wife of his Enemies, by whoſe intermedling, *Mignon* and the Exorciſts ſuggeſted all they had a Mind to. They let them remain in the Houſe where they had ſequeſtred them, to the Number they had heen put there; And as a compleat irregularity and injuſtice, inſtead of calling in the more Famous Phyſicians of the great neighbouring Towns, ſuch as *Poictiers*, *Angers*, *Thouars*, or *Saumur*, they choſe out of the petty Towns, all kind of People, without merit or reputation, excepting *Daniel Roger*, a Phyſician of *Loudun*, who was in Truth, in ſome eſteem, but whoſe Sentiment alone could not prevail over that of a ſet of Pretenders, who had neither Learning nor Practice; one of which was *Du-Bourg* of *Fontevraut*, who never had either a Degree or *Diploma*, and who had been oblig'd, for this Reaſon, to retire from *Saumur*. Another was of the Town of *Chinon*, where he had no Employment, being a Melancholick-man, and over-run with Black Choller, who had alſo favour'd the pretended Poſſeſſion at *Chinon*; which was known afterwards, to be a Cheat, and of which the Authors and Actors were puniſh'd, as may be ſeen in

the ſequel of this Hiſtory ; Another who was of *Thouars*, had paſt his younger Days at *Loudun*, in the Shop of a Tradeſman, whoſe Journey-Man he was, and afterwards turn'd Phyſician, and was not a little Proud to be employ'd in a buſineſs of ſo high an importance ; Another of the ſame Town, and one of the Town of *Miribaut*, were of no greater Reputation, but the only merit they had, was that they were Kinſmen to the Enemies of *Grandier*.

Sect. 21. The Choice which was made of an Apothecary and a Chirurgeon, was neither more equitable, nor more plauſible. The Apothecary named *Peter Adam*, was *Mignen*'s Couſin *German*, and had been a Witneſs in the Firſt Accuſation againſt *Grandier*. And becauſe his Teſtimony touch'd the Honour of a Gentlewoman of *Loudun*, he had been condemn'd by a Decree of the Parliament of the Tenth of *March*, 1633. to undergo an honourable Amand ; Nevertheleſs, they relied on him for the preparation of Medicines ; no body either ſaw, or knew, whether he us'd thoſe which were preſcrib'd by the Phyſicians, or whether he doubled not the Doſe ; if inſtead of gentle and eaſie Purgatives, he did not adminiſter violent Remedies, and proper to make the Nuns fall into Convulſions and Traunces. The Chirurgion who was *Mannouri*, *Memin*'s Nephew, and Brother-in-Law of one of the Nuns, had already in that quality, made an oppoſition to the Sequeſtration above mention'd, and the choice they made was generally diſapprov'd. The Mother and Brother of *Grandier*, made in vain, ſeveral Remonſtrances to the Commiſſary upon the Subject, but they could not ſo much as obtain Copies of the Petitions which had been preſented to him ; he promis'd however, that he would cauſe them to be enter'd in his Regiſtry, but never perform'd it. *Grandier* alſo made his complaints to

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the unjust choice of these Physicians, to the Judges who were delegated to judge his Process; he besought them to place about the Persons pretended to be Possess'd, People of Capacity and Experience, and Apothecaries who should not give *Crocus Metallorum*, instead of *Crocus Martis*, as 'twas known that *Adam* had done; but the Judges being sent to confirm the Proceedings of *Laubardemont*, and not to correct them, they had no regard to those Petitions.

Sect. 22. The Ninth of *April*, and the following Days, they made several Acts for the calling and employing Physicians, and Apothecary and Chirurgeon; And the Twelfth, the Commissary made an interlocutory Sentence, by which he order'd, *That all, and every of the Witnesses heard in the said Charges and Informations, and others, as it shall seem good to the Kings Attorney to produce, should come in, and those that were not heard, and to hear their Deposition read; and if it be needful, to be confronted with the said accused Person, who to this purpose shall be continued a close Prisoner.* The next Day they began the Confrontations, which were continued divers times the Days following. There was propos'd upon this Subject in the Case of *Grandier*, the Example of that which happen'd to Saint *Athanasius*, as an excellent means to attain the Knowledge of truth by Confrontation. This Saint having been accus'd in the Council of *Tyre*, by an impudent Woman, who had never seen him; when this Woman, enter'd into the Assembly, to make her Accusation in publick, a Priest named *Timothy*, rose up, shew'd himself to her, and spake to her, as if he had been *Athanasius*; she believ'd him so, and manifested thereby to all the Assembly, both her own Crime and his Innocence, which she had attacqued.

attaqued. If *Laubardemont* had been willing to make the ſame Trial, and preſented to the Nuns at the ſame time Three or Four Prieſts with *Grandier*, a like cloth'd, and near of the ſame Stature, and Hair, whom they had never ſeen before, 'Tis certain, that if by chance, *Grandier* had been mark'd out by ſome one of them, there would have been others who would not have been able to diſtinguiſh him, and who by their miſtake, would have made the Truth appear. But the Deſign of that Commiſſary, was to conceal the Truth, and not to diſcover it, and for this effect, after he had finiſh'd theſe Proceedings, having a little more leiſure than he had, when he was thus employ'd, he order'd the Exorciſms to begin again. The Biſhop of *Poictiers* having rejected Father *l'Eſcayz*, and Father *Gau*, nam'd by the Archbiſhop his Superior, had ſent Two others in their place, who were his Chaplain, and Father *Lactance* a Franciſcan. This choice of the former was highly condemn'd, becauſe he had been of the Number of the Judges who had given the firſt ſentence againſt *Grandier*, which the Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux* had invalidated. They were lodg'd in the Houſe of *Nicolas Mouſſaut*, and ſome time after, ſome of the Nuns were lodg'd there alſo, to the great aſtoniſhment of all unconcern'd Perſons. *Memin*, *Menuau*, and *Herve*, went every Day into this Houſe, to viſit the Exorciſts, and Diſcourſe with them in private. Theſe laſt began to perform their Charge, the Fifteenth of *April*. *Lactance* ſeeing that the Superior underſtood *Latine* very little, order'd her to ſpeak in French, although he often put to her Queſtions in *Latine*. There were ſome Perſons who objected to him, that ſhe ought to anſwer her in the ſame Language, and that the Devil

Devil ought not to be ignorant of any ; To which this Father anſwer'd, ſometimes, *That the Pact had been ſo made*, and at other times, *That there were ſome Devils more ignorant than the very Peaſants.* A little while after, there was obſerv'd to come a Recruit of Exorciſts, who were Four Capucin Friars, named Father *Luke*, Father *Tranquille*, Father *Potais*, and Father *Elizee*, beſides two Carmelites, who had intruded themſelves there from the beginning of the Poſſeſſion, and had been tolerated by the Biſhop of *Poictiers*, to wit, Father *Peter*, of Saint *Thomas*, and Father *Peter* ofSaint *Mathurin*. They joyn'd themſelves with the Capucins, who had been ſent with great expectation, and for particular Ends, concerted amongſt the principal Monks of *France*, of whom the famous Father *Joſeph* was the Head. The chief deſign was to eſtabliſh that Propoſition, which is found in the Book of Father *Tranquille*, *That the Devil duly exorciſ'd, is conſtrain'd to ſpeak the Truth* ; and thereby they pretended to prove undeniably the bodily Preſence of Jeſus Chriſt in the Sacrament, and all other Tenets of the Roman Church ; but they hoped above all, that this would give them an opportunity to bring in a kind of Inquiſition ; and that it would be a certain means to make all the Churchmen, the Wealth, the Honour, and the Lives of private Perſons, and chiefly the Hereticks, to depend upon the Eccleſiaſticks. Father *Joſeph* went alſo to *Loudun* Incognito, to examin himſelf this pretended Poſſeſſion, to the end, that if he found that it had a ſufficient Air and Appearance of Truth he might put himſelf at the Head of the Exorciſts, to aſſume the greater part of the glory of having diſpoſſeſt the Devils, and acquire a high reputation of Piety and Sanctity.

But

But this subtil Monk, had no Mind to engage in this Matter: he knew well, that it would not become a Man of his Importance, and that he ought to leave it in the Hands of his Inferiors, who would content themselves with the esteem of Bigots, and mean People, and not be concern'd though they were expos'd to the derision of the better sort, and Men of Wit.

Sect. 23. The Persons possessed, were allotted by Classes to each of the Exorcists, and they exorcis'd them in four several Places, which were in the Churches of Saint *Crosse*, of the Convent of the *Ursulines*, of Saint *Peter du Martrai*, of the Priory, and of *Notre Dame du Chateau*. There past little in the Exorcisms of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth of *April*. *Laubardemont* omitted to put Interrogatories to *Grandier*, from the Seventeenth of the same Month, upon the Cases arising from the Verbal Process which he had made. The Physicians, Apothecary and the Chirurgeon began also to make their Reports of what they had seen, and the Observations that were made upon the Condition of the Possessed, and upon their Feats of Activity. They drew up Twenty Six Articles during the time of their Commission; the Sum whereof was, *That the things which they had seen, were supernatural, and surpassing as well the knowledge, as the Rules of Physick.* In the mean time, that which happen'd the Twenty Third of the same Month of *April*, seem'd not very Miraculous, *Lactance* exorcising the Superior, demanded of her in *Latine*, bad enough, *In what shape the Devil had enter'd in her? Of a Cat*, reply'd she, *a Dog*, *a Stag*, *and a Goat*; *Quoties?* that is to say, *How often?* continued the Exorcist. *I have not well observ'd the Day* said she, because she believ'd that *Quoties* was the same thing as *Quando*,

Quando, *When ?* The next Day being the Twenty Fourth, the ſame Nun, returning from the Exorciſm, ſtaid near the Houſe of the Widow *Barot*, and ſaid, ſhe could not go on further, becauſe ſhe had ſeen the Hand of *Grandier* through the Window of his Chamber; but this Window was ſo ſmall, that ſcarce any Light could come in there, and this Action did only excite the Laughter of ſome of thoſe that were there Preſent.

Sect. 24. The Twenty Sixth it was order'd that *Grandier* ſhould be viſited, upon Occaſion, that the Superior had declar'd, that his Body was marked with Marks of the Devil, and that he was inſenſible in all Places where the Marks were. This unhappy Man was treated ſo inhumanely upon that Occaſion, that the very Thought of the Anguiſh which they made him ſuffer, is enough to make one tremble; They ſent for *Mannouri* the Chirurgion, one of his Enemies, and the moſt unmerciful of them all: When he was come into the Chamber, they ſtripped *Grandier* ſtark naked, blinded his Eyes, ſhav'd him every where, and *Mannouri* began to ſearch him. When he would perſwade them that the Parts of his Body which had been mark'd by the Devil were inſenſible, he turn'd that End of the Probe which was round, and he guided it in ſuch Manner, that not being able to enter into the the Fleſh, nor to make much Impreſſion, it was puſh'd back into the Palm of his Hand; The Patient did not then cry out, becauſe he felt no pain; but when the Barbarous Chirurgeon would make them ſee that the other Parts of his Body were very ſenſible, he turn'd the Probe at the other End, which was very ſharp pointed, and thruſt

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it to the very Bone; and then abundance of People, who were at the Bottom of the Prison without, heard Complaints so bitter, and Crys so piercing, that they mov'd them to the Heart; But *Laubardemont*, who was present at this Action, did not seem to be touch'd with any Sense of Pity; The Superior, who was content the first time to say that the Magician had Five Marks of the Devil upon his Body, without specifying them, nor the Places where they were, did not fail the next Day, the Twenty Seventh of the Month, to nominate the Places, where those, who had seen him all naked, had observ'd Two of these Spots. As for the Three others, the Physicians could not see them, because, says the *Extract of of the Proofs*, *&c.* they were too hard to be distinguish'd. But if the Devil, who had possess'd her, had no great knowledge of the things which were somewhat secret, or conceal'd so near him, at least that he had not been inform'd of by the Reports of Men, he knew not much more of what past further off; For the Thirtieth of the same Month, the Exorcist having demanded of him, *Why he had not been willing to answer the* Saturday *before*, *It was*, said he by the Mouth of the Nun, *because I was imploy'd, that day in conducting to Hell the Soul of* le Proust *Attorney of the Parliament of* Paris. The Curious did not fail to make an Exact Inquiry, if there had been an Attorney of this Name in the Parliament; They caus'd the Registers of the Dead to be examin'd, to know whether at that time, some Person of the same Name, of what quality soever, was dead at *Paris*. But neither the one, nor the other of these things were found true, nor has it been seen in any of the Books which have been writ in Fa-

vour

vour of the Possession; that they have dar'd to alledge this Particular, amongst the Miraculous Knowledge which has been attributed to the Superior.

Sect. 25. They Exorciz'd again in the Church of the *Carmelites*, where the Exorcist demanded of one of the Persons possess'd, *Where were the Magick Books of Grandier*: She answer'd that they would find them in the Lodgings of a certain Gentlewoman whom she nam'd, and who was the Person that caus'd *Adam* the Apothecary to undergo an honourable Amand. At that Instant, *Laubardemont*, *Herve*, *Menuau*, *Moussaut*, and many others, went into the House of this Gentlewoman; They view'd the Chambers and Closets; They open'd the Coffers, search'd in all the most secret Places, and having not found any Magical Book, the Exorcist, at their Return, reproach'd the Devil, that he had deceiv'd the Court, and he adjur'd him again to speak the Truth; He answer'd, *that a Neece of this Gentlewoman had taken away those Books*; They ran presently to this Neece's House, but they found that she was in a Church at her Devotions, and that it was impossible that she should be gone to her Kinswoman's House in the time mention'd by the Devil; so that they could not carry the Revenge of *Adam* so far as he had wish'd, and had been promis'd him in Requital of his Services; and he was fain to content himself with this Affront which he had put upon his Enemy.

Sect. 26. *Grandier* had a Brother, an Advocate in the Parliament, and who had also an Office of Counsellour in the Bailiwick of *Loudun*; They judg'd it requisite to hinder his solliciting the Parliament to take Cognizance of the Affair

fair of his Brother, as being already concern'd by the Appeals, and by the Petition which had been presented to them; Therefore the Superior accus'd this Man also of Magick. He had no sooner Advice of this Accusation, but he gave a Petition to the Court, to have a Satisfaction for this Calumny, declaring that they had accus'd him, only to deprive his Brother of all the Means he had of Assistance. But *Duthibaut*, who was at *Paris*, caus'd him to be Arrested Prisoner, by Virtue of an Order of *Laubardemont*; and to be brought into the House of one of the Favourers of the Possession, from whence he did not get out till after the Death of *Grandier*, at the urgent Sollicitation of his Friends.

Sect. 27 In the Beginning of *May*, one of the Devils of the Superior had promis'd to raise her up Two Foot high; *Lactance* call'd upon him often to perform his Promise, which he did not however, because the Nun having been willing to dazzle the Eyes of the People, by trying one time to do something near it, There was one of the Spectators who lifted up the Bottom of her Garment, and made all the others see that she touch'd the Ground with the End of one of her Feet. The Devil *Eazas* had also promis'd to raise up *la Nogeret* Three Foot from the Ground; and another Devil nam'd *Cerberus*, to lift up his Nun Two Foot; But neither the one nor the other were *Devils of their Word*. The Devil *Beherit* pretended to have done his Part so well, as to retrieve the Honour of his Companions by establishing his own Reputation; He vaunted, for this purpose, to take off *Laubardemont's* Cap from off his Head, and to keep it hanging in the Air, during the Space of a *Miserere*. The time which

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he had appointed being come, *Lactance* adjur'd him in all the requiſite Forms to ſhew this Marvel before the Eyes of the Spectators; This Exorciſt us'd Flatteries, Complaints, and Threatnings, but when he perceived that he obtain'd nothing, he knew well that ſome Accident was fallen out, which had given Vent to his Mine, or had put ſome of the Springs of the Machine that was to play, out of Order. And, in Truth, he was not deceiv'd, for ſome Suſpicious People conſidering that it was late, that they were about to light their Flambeaux, that that time was very proper to perform ſome Illuſion, and that *Laubardemont* was plac'd in a Chair diſtant enough from the Company, and juſt under one of the Arches of the Church, they ran out to go up and place themſelves upon the Arch, where they found the Man who was appointed to act his Part, and who was conſtrain'd to give over his Work of Darkneſs, and to carry away his little Hook, and the Hair or Thread to which it was faſten'd. He was to let ſlip his Hook through a little Hole made on Purpoſe, above and over-againſt the Place deſign'd for *Laubardemont*, who was to take the Hair, and faſten it to a little Loop ſewed to his Cap, making a Shew to make it right, and ſome time after this Hair was to be drawn up into the Air, and ſhould have carried up the Cap with it; Then the Exorciſt ſhould have caus'd the *Miſerere* to be ſung, during which the Cap ſhould have been continued hanging in the Air, and not have fallen down till the Muſick had been ended. But this Honour was not reſerv'd for *Beherit*, who remain'd under the ſame Confuſion with his Companions.

Sect. 28. They well perceiv'd that so many Attempts failing, would bring the Possession into Contempt. A great Number of Gentlemen and other Persons yet of a better Quality, who came to *Loudun* with an Expectation that they should see there daily some new Miracle, began to be disgusted with what they had seen, and to return into their several Countries, whither they brought no News able to Augment the Belief of that diabolical Intrigue. Father *Tranquille* complains in his Book in these Terms, Many, says he, being come to see the Miracles at *Loudun*, if presently the Devils give them not such Signs as they require, they go away discontented, and have increas'd the Number of Unbelievers; Wherefore 'twas resolv'd to produce some great Exploit to revive their languishing Curiosity, and renew their Belief, that was upon the point of expiring. *Lactance* promis'd that of Seven Devils which possess'd the Superior, three of them should go out of her the Twentieth of *May* without Fail. These Three were *Asmodee*, *Gresil* of the *Thrones*, and *Aman* of the *Powers*. They were to give her, at their going out, Three Wounds on the left side, and make as many holes in her Shift, Bodice, and Gown. The greatest of the Three Wounds, were to be a Pin's Length, which was shew'd to those who assisted at the Exorcism, where he made this kind of Proclamation; The Place where the Wound should be made was likewise mark'd. They assur'd also the *Commandeur de la Porte*, who was then at *Loudun*, that the possessed should have her Hands tyed behind her Back, when the Wounds should be made. The Day appointed being come, and the Church of Saint *Crosse* being fill'd with the inquisitive Persons,

ſons, who had a Mind to obſerve whether the Devils would keep their Word once in their Lives, they caus'd preſently ſome Phyſicians of the neighbouring Towns, who were there preſent, to view the Sides, the Bodice, the Shift, and the Gown of the Nun. *Their Report was, that they found not any Wound upon her Side, any Cut in her Garments, nor any ſharp Inſtrument in the Plaits of her Cloaths.* After this diligent Search, Father *Lactance* put Queſtions to her for the Space of two Hours almoſt always in French, and the Anſwers were made in the ſame Language; and when he proceeded to Commands and Adjurations, there was a Phyſician of *Saumur* named *Duncan*, a *Scotch-man*, who was Principal of the Univerſity of the *Proteſtants*, and Profeſſor in Philoſophy, who ſaid, that they were promis'd that the Nun ſhould have her Hands tyed. The Exorciſt acknowledg'd, *that it was fit to bind her to remove all Suſpicion of Deceit and Fraud.* In the mean time he declar'd, that there were many Perſons in the Company, who had never ſeen the Convulſions whereinto the poſſeſſed us'd to fall, and that 'twas requiſite for the Satisfaction of ſuch, *that* they ſhould Exorciſe this Nun before ſhe was bound. Then he began the Exorciſms and Adjurations, and at the ſame time ſhe made a Contorſion of her Body which ſeem'd very frightfuul, her Hands and her Feet were alike turn'd outward, and after that the Palms of her Hands, and the Soles of her Feet, were joyn'd very cloſe one to the other; all her Limbs return'd to their former Condition, and then ſhe roſe up. The Exorciſt gave her no Intermiſſion, for ſhe was ſcarce recover'd out of that firſt Convulſion, but he repeated to her his Ad-

jurations, and this was done at that time, that ſhe lay upon her Face on the Ground, and that they ſaw her right Thigh drawn outwards, then being bow'd down upon her Arm and right Side, ſhe continued in this Condition ſome little time, and at laſt they heard her groan; and when ſhe drew her hand out of her Boſom, they perceiv'd the tops of her Fingers ſtain'd with Blood. The Phyſicians who had heard her Groans, ſearch'd quickly after the Cauſe, both with their Eyes and Hands, in her Cloaths and upon her Body; They found her Gown pier-ced in two places, and her Bodice and Shift in three places, the Holes being in Length a Fingers Breadth; They found alſo the Skin pierc'd in three places beneath her left Breaſt. The wounds were ſo ſlight, that they ſcarce paſt through the Skin; that in the Middle was of the Length of a Barly Corn, the Two others were not ſo large, nor ſo deep; In the mean while there iſſued out Blood at all Three, with which her Shift was ſtain'd. *Laubardemont* was in ſome Confuſion at the Performance of this Trick, by Reaſon of the Number and Quality of the Spectators, and eſepecially of the *Commandeur de la Port*, who had Aſſurance given him that the Nun ſhould be bound, and he could not forbear, to ſay, *That this was not fair.* However he would not ſuffer the Phyſicians who atteſted the Fact, to joyn to their Atteſtations the judgment which he made of the ſufficient and Inſtrumental Cauſes of thoſe Three Wounds. But *Duncan* was no ſoonor at *Saumur*, but he publiſh'd a Writing, containing Obſervations which were made upon this pretended Miracle, which are in Brief, 'That the Devils 'of *Loudun* being cunning and fraudulent, had 'not

'not attempted to make any other Sign, 'but that which was the easiest of all those 'they had promis'd, and where they could more 'readily, with a little Slight, deceive the Eyes 'of the People; That the Cloaths of the Su-'perior had not been search'd, because they pre-'suppos'd that her Hands should be tyed, when 'the Wounds were to be made in her Flesh: That 'instead thereof, she had her Hands at Liber-'ty, and hid from the Assistants when she was 'wounded; That the Wounds were not found 'to be exactly made in the Place where she her 'self had design'd; That they were not so large 'as they were promis'd; That they seem'd to 'have been made by the Incision of a little 'Penknife, or by the pricking of a Launcet; 'That the Incisions were much greater in the Gar-'ments than in the Skin, which made it appear 'that they were made from without; inwards, 'and not from within outwards. That the 'Cloaths were not examin'd after the 'Wounds had been made, because it 'twould 'have been expedient to strip the Nun to her 'Smock to do it exactly, which Decency would 'not suffer; Moreover that she might have 'thrown amongst the Croud of People, with-'out being perceiv'd, the Instrument she us'd, 'which must be very small. That if the Devils 'were then gone out, they had not been com-'pell'd by the Force of the Exorcism, seeing that 'the Exorcist had not given them any Com-'mand; That there were not made in her Gown 'three Cuts as well as in the Shift and Stays, 'though they were promis'd all alike, because 'one of the Incisions was made where none 'of her Garment lay, it being open before.

Laubardemont was extreamly provok'd by the boldness of the Author of this Writing, who overthrew the Miracle by such pertinent Reasons, and solid Proofs: He vow'd to be reveng'd of *Duncan*, and to prosecute him to the utmost, and the Printer who had sold his Books; but the Marshal *de Breze*, who promis'd them his Protection, laid the Storm which threatned them, and which otherwise could not but have been very violent and dangerous.

Sect. 28. ' *Grandier*, on his part, made almost the ' same Observations upon this Action; to which ' he added further, That if the Superior had not ' Groan'd, the Physicians would not have open'd ' her Cloaths, and that they would have suffer'd ' her to be bound, not imagining that the Wounds ' had been already made; and that then the Exorcist would have commanded Three other ' Devils to go out, and to give the Signs they ' had promis'd; That the Superior would have ' made the strangest contorsions she had been able, and would have had a long Convulsion, at ' the end whereof she would have been deliver'd, ' and the Wounds found upon her Body. But ' that this groaning had betray'd her, and had ' broke, by GOD's Permission, all the Measures ' concerted by Men and Devils; For what Cause ' think you (said he) in his Exceptions and Absolvatory Conclusions, that they chose for a Sign, ' Wounds resembling those which are made with ' a sharp Instrument, since the Devils are accustom'd to make Wounds like to those by burning? Is it not because 'twas more easie for the ' Superior to hide an Instrument, and to wound ' her self slightly, than to hide Fire, and to make ' a Wound by burning? Why think you they

' chose

'chose the leftside, rather than the Forehead or 'Nose? unless that she could not hurt her Forehead or Nose, without exposing the Action to 'the Eyes of all the Company. Wherefore should 'they chuse the left side rather than the right? 'Were it not that it was more easie for the Right-hand, which the Superior us'd, to extend it on 'the left side, than to bend it on the right? 'Wherefore did she turn her self upon her Arm 'and left side? Were it not to the end, that this 'Posture, in which she continued a very long 'time, might make easie to her the means of concealing from the Eyes of the Spectators, the Instrument wherewith she wounded her self? 'whence think you, proceeded the Groans which 'she gave, in spite of all her constancy? If it was 'not from the Sence of the Hurt she did 'to herself, the most couragious being not 'able to refrain from trembling, when the 'Chirurgeon lets them Blood? Why did the ends 'of her Fingers appear bloody? unless because 'they held the Instrument which made the 'Wounds. Who perceives not, that this Instrument, having been very small, 'twas impossible 'to prevent, that the Fingers which were employ'd, should not become Red with the Blood 'which was caus'd to issue out? In brief, whence 'was it, that these Wounds were so slight, 'that they scarce were Skin deep, seeing that the 'Devils are us'd to break and tear in pieces the 'Possessed, when they go out of them? unless for 'this, that the Superior did not hate her 'self enough, to make Deep and Dangerous 'Wounds.

Sect. 29. Though this pretended Miracle, studied with much Care, and manag'd with much

Skill, had not however, succeeded very well, the Commissary, who supprest universally, whatsoever made against the Possession, and who gave Authority to all that might confirm it, forbore not to make his Verbal Process of the Expulsion of three Devils, *Asmodee*, *Gresil*, and *Aman*, by three Wounds, made beneath the Region of the Heart of the Sister *Jeanne des Anges*, and they were not afraid to produce the Verbal Process, amongst the Papers which they made use of against *Grandier*. *Lactance* seeking to dissipate the suspicions which he knew to be rais'd in the Minds of the Beholders of this illusion, demanded the next Day of *Balaam*, one of the Four Devils who continued in the Body of the Superior, why *Asmodee* and his two Companions were gone, whilst the Face and Hands of the Superior were hid from the Eyes of the People? *'Tis*, said he, *to retain a great many in unbelief*. After this manner this Devil, who was in good intelligence and agreement with Father *Tranquille*, endeavour'd to make good the Father's reasons. 'They have cause (said this Father, complaining 'of those that were dissatisfied) to be offended at 'the small civility and courtesy of these Devils, 'who have not had a respect for their Merits, and 'the Quality of their Persons; but if the greatest 'part of these had examin'd their own Consciences, 'possibly they would find that the cause of their 'dissatisfaction proceeded from thence; and that 'they ought rather to be reveng'd of themselves 'by a good Penance, and not to bring prying Eyes 'and a vicious Conscience, to return incredulous. Thus these crafty Exorcists do always find reasons to confound the Gainsayers, or rather evasions to dazle the simple and the bigots; for if the Parts they acted happen'd to succeed, they were Miracles, wherein shone

ſhone the Power which the Church gives to its Miniſters; and if the Succeſs was not favourable, 'twas the incredulity of the Spectators, which was the Cauſe; If the Devil obey'd, he was conſtrain'd by the Power of Exorciſms; and if he were not obedient, 'twas permitted him to uſe them ſo, for a juſt Puniſhment from GOD, againſt the Unbelievers, to continue them in unbelief.

Sect. 31. 'Twas reported, that Six luſty and ſtrong Men, could not reſtrain the Poſſeſſed from making their Contorſions. *Duncan* perhaps, with a little to much confidence, depending upon the Protection of the Marſhal *de Breze*, attempted to try an Experiment, to the great Diſpleaſure of the Father *Recollet*; for having laid hold on the Right-Hand of the Superior, with one of his, ſhe endeavour'd to make him looſe his hold, as ſoon as *Lactance* had order'd the Devil to make her Contorſions; but ſhe could not perform them, but with her Legs, and her Left-Arm; ſhe was in vain conjur'd to do them with her Right-Arm, as with her Left; *I cannot*, ſaid ſhe at laſt, *for he holds me*; *let go her Arm*, ſaid the Exorciſt, to *Duncan*, *for how can Contorſions be made, if you hold her? If it is a Devil*, reply'd *Duncan*, with a loud Voice, *he ought to be ſtronger than I*; *As good a Philoſopher as you are, this is ill Logick*, reply'd *Lactance*, with eagerneſs, *for a Devil out of a Body, is ſtronger than you; but being in a feeble Body, ſuch as ſhe is, 'tis not neceſſary that he ſhould be as ſtrong as you, for his natural Actions are proportion'd to the force of the Body that he poſſeſſeth.* 'This good Father (ſays *Duncan*, in the 'Book where he has left this Hiſtory, remembers 'not that he has Read in the Goſpel, that the *De*-'*moniacks* broke the Cords and Chains wherewith 'they were bound, and that the Ritual puts amongſt

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'the Marks of Poſſeſſion, *Vires ſupra ætatis & con-*
'*ditionis naturam oſtendere, To exert ſtrength beyond*
'*the nature of the Age or Quality of the Party poſſeſſed.*
'*Duncan* added, that next Day he did the ſame
'thing to the Siſter *Agnes*, and that he was pray'd
'not to hold her Hand too faſt, becauſe the Superi-
'or had complain'd that he had hurt her, by
'holding her too ſtrongly; and that theſe
'things were done in the preſence of the
'*Commandeur de la Porte*, *Lauberdemont*, and a great
'many Perſons of Quality. He reported further, that the firſt time that he ſaw the Nun, his arrival caus'd a little diſgrace to the Devil *Greſil*, becauſe the Exorciſt having adjur'd him to tell his Name he was twice deceiv'd, calling him the firſt time *Benoit*, and half an Hour after *Texier*, which were the Names of the two other Phyſicians of *Saumur*, after which he would not conjecture more, although at the Third time he might have been able to find out the true Name, becauſe the Nun had at other times heard theſe Phyſicians ſpoken of, eſpecially during the Sickneſs of her Mother, of which ſhe died, or at leaſt there was one of them ſent for, to viſit her, but their Countenances were alike unknown to her.

Sect. 32. There paſt nothing remarkable, from the Twentieth of *May*, till the Thirteenth of *June*, which was Famous for the vomiting a Quill of a Feather, of a Fingers length, which the Superior caſt up, for only the Devils that poſſeſt her, were fertil in Miracles, and obey'd from time to time, the Voice of the Exorciſts; the others were Malicious, Rebellious, and Diſobedient, who took care to do nothing extraordinary, for the Glory of GOD, and for that of the Church and its Miniſters. The Commiſſary made a very exact Verbal

Proceſs

Process of this last Miracle, and of another Vomiting of a Silk Button, which the same Nun did Vomit the Eighth of *July* following. But what Verbal Process might he not have made of that which Saint *Augustine* reports? That there were several People, who after their having swallow'd several Things, and kept them some time in their Bowels, fetch'd up those they had a mind to, and drew them as out of a Pouch. This Marvel was yet greater than that of the Superior, and for all that, those that wrought them, were not possess'd with Devils.

Sect. 33. The Bishop of *Poictiers*, came to *Loudun*, the Sixteenth of the same Month of *June*; 'twas told him directly, by Father *Tranquille*, 'That the Devils, who had sojourn'd there for 'some time, could not be driven out but by a Blow of 'the Scepter; and that the Crosier was not sufficient to break the Head of this Dragon, who had 'cast his Poison against innocent Souls. For the Bishop never had a Mind to be concern'd in Person in this Affair, if it had not been supported by the Royal Authority, and that of the Cardinal; but with such Warrantees he made no difficulty to enter into the List. He told those who came to salute him at his arrival, *That he was not come to take Cognizance of the Truth of the Possession, but to make it believ'd by those who were yet doubtful, and to discover the Schools of Magick, as well for Men as Women.* It was well understood what that meant, That he came to begin an establishment of a kind of Inquisition which had been before projected. He himself did not exorcise, 'twas the Father *Recollect* that exorcis'd in his presence; and he permitted that the Exorcist should presuppose, as evident, that *Grandier* was a Magician, although this was the thing

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in question. *Infringo*, said he to the Devil, *Omne Pactum, sive a Domino tuo Lucifero, sive a Magistro tuo Grandiero, I dissolve every Pact, whether from thy Lord* Lucifer, *or from thy Master* Grandier. Then they began to publish among the People, that they ought to believe the Possession, seeing that the King, the Cardinal, and the Bishop, did credit it, and that one could not suspect it, without rendering himself guilty of High-Treason against GOD and Man, and without exposing himself in the Quality of a Complice of *Grandier*, to the strokes of the terrible Justice of *Laubardemont*. And indeed, if there were any one yet who durst hesitate and suspend his Judgment, he was presently treated as one damn'd, and worse than a Heretick; and most of the other Catholicks, would no more communicate with him, than with one excommunicated. *Memin* and all the Cabal publish'd boldly every where, that he must be a Devil, who could make any doubt of the Possession. 'To words, some added Writings; 'Tis this which mades us say, with assurance, (says Father *Tranquille*, in one of his Books) that this Enterprize is the Work of GOD, seeing that 'tis the work of the King. *And writing against the Case of* Grandier, *and some other Pieces made by the Incredulous, he says*, That their Libels did offend the Two Powers, the Regal, and Episcopal. He says further, That if there be a Person in the World, who has seen clearly into this business, and whose Judgment ought to be follow'd; it is the King, who believes the Possession, and who makes not this Affair his own, to render himself a Complice of a Cheat. 'Tis the most Eminent, my Lord the Cardinal, the first Person of State, who believes the Possession; and not only believes it, but next to his Majesty,
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'the Enterprize of this Affair is owing to his Piety 'and to his Zeal, as the Letters which he has writ to '*Monsieur Laubardemont* sufficiently testifie; at the 'reading whereof, one cannot but admire his good-'ness, as well as the greatness of his Soul, to see 'that he who moves the World, and shakes 'Monarchies by his Wise Counsels, undertakes, 'with the Care of a Father, the comforting these 'Nuns; and with the Zeal of a Prelate, the com-'plaint of the Church, offended by this Sorcery. 'The Author of the *Demonomany of Loudun*, 'proves also the Possession, by this Argument, 'the King and *Monsieur* the Cardinal do Autho-'rise it; it cannot than be doubted. So that no one durst open his Mouth to tell his Sentiment, and some already began to feel the Yoke of this kind of Inquisition, which the Exorcists had design'd to establish.

Sect. 34. Amongst many particular things which were done before the Bishop, this deserves to be related in the same Words wherein they are set down in a Manuscript Relation, which has been accounted faithful, and very exact by all Persons that liv'd at that time; it seems to have been writ by a good Roman Catholick, throughly convinc'd of the Truth of the Possession, and of the Power of the Exorcists over the Devils, as well as of the Integrity of these last; and is as follows:

'*Friday* the Twenty Second of *June*, 1634. be-'ing the *Vigil* of Saint *John*, at Three of the 'Clock in the Afternoon, *Monsieur de Poitiers*, and '*Monsieur de Laubardemont*, being in the Church of 'Saint *Crosse* at *Loudun*, to continue the Exorcisms 'of the *Ursuline* Nuns, by the Order of the said 'Sieur *Laubardemont* Commissary; *Urban Gran-*

'*dier*,

'*dier*, Priest and Parson, accus'd, and nam'd Magi-
'cian, by the said possessed Nuns, to whom were
'produc'd by the said Commissary, Four Pacts, re-
'ported at several times, in the foregoing Exor-
'cisms, by the said Possessed, which the Devils
'who possess'd them, said were made with the
'said *Grandier*, for many ends; but one in particu-
'lar, made by *Leviathan*, on *Saturday*, the Seven-
'teenth of the present Month; compos'd of the
'Flesh and Heart of an Infant, taken at one of
'their Sabats (or Witches nocturnal Assemblies)
'held at *Orleans*, in 1631. and of the Ashes of a
'Consecrated Wafer, and of the Blood and
'the —— of the said *Grandier*, by which *Levia-
'than* said, he had entred the Body of the Sister
'*Jeanne des Anges*, Superior of the said Nuns;
'and had possess'd her with his Associates, *Behe-
'mot*, *Isaacarum*, and *Balaam*, and this the Eighth
'of *December*, 1632. The other compos'd of the
'Seeds of Oranges and Pomegranades, given by
'*Asmodee*, then possessing the Sister *Agnes*, *Thurs-
'day* the Twenty Second of the present Month,
'made between the said *Grandier*, *Asmodee*, and a
'Number of other Devils, to hinder the per-
'formance of the Promises of *Beherit*, who had
'promis'd for a Sign of his going out, to lift the
'Cap of the Commissary two Pikes high, the
'Space of a *Miserere*. All which Pacts shew'd to
'the said *Grandier*, he said, without being any
'way astonish'd, but with a constant and generous
'resolution, that he knew not in any sort, what
'belong'd to those Pacts; nor had ever made
'them; and knew not an Art capable of such things,
'nor ever had communication with the Devils;
'and was absolutely ignorant of that which they al-
'ledged. Whereof there was made a Verbal Process

'which

'which he ſign'd. This done, there were brought all 'the ſaid poſſeſſed Nuns, to the Number of Eleven 'or Twelve, comprizing the three Secular Maids 'alſo poſſeſs'd, into the Choir of the Church, ac-'companied by a great many Friars, Carmelites, 'Capucins, and Recollects, Three Phyſicians, and 'a Chirurgeon; which Nuns, at their entrance, 'us'd ſome wanton Expreſſions, calling the ſaid '*Grandier* their Maſter, teſtifying to him their 'Joy to ſee him. Then Father *Lactance*, *Gabriel* a 'Recollect, and one of the Exorciſts, exhorted all 'the Aſſiſtants to lift up their Hearts to GOD 'with an extraordinary fervour, to make acts of 'Contrition, for the Offences committed againſt 'that adorable Majeſty; and to beſeech him, that 'ſo many Sins might not put a ſtop to the deſigns 'which his Providence had for his Glory, on that 'occaſion; and for an outward Mark of their in-'ward contrition, to ſay the *Confiteor*, in order to 'to receive the Benediction of *Monſieur* the Bi-'ſhop of *Poictiers*; which being perform'd, he 'continued to ſay, the Matter in queſtion was of 'ſo great weight, and ſo important to the Truths 'of the Roman Catholick Church, that this only 'conſideration, ought to ſerve for a Motive to 'excite their Devotion; and that otherwiſe, the 'Affliction of theſe poor Nuns were ſo ſtrange, 'after their having been ſo long, that Charity o-'blig'd all thoſe who have right to labour their 'Deliverance, and the expulſion of the Devils, to 'employ the power of their Character for ſo wor-'thy a Subject, by the Exorciſms which the 'Church preſcribes her Paſtors; and directing his 'Speech to *Grandier*, he told him, that being of 'this Number, by the Holy Unction of Prieſt-'hood, he ought to contribute his power and Zeal,

'if

'if it pleas'd *Monsieur* the Bishop, to permit him, 'and to commute his suspension, by his Authori'ty; which *Monsieur* the Bishop having granted, 'the Father Recollect presented a Stole to the said '*Grandier*; who turning himself towards the said 'Bishop, ask'd him, if he allow'd him to take it, to 'whom having answer'd *Yes*, he put the said Stole 'on his Neck, and then the Father Recollect gave 'him a Ritual, which he desir'd leave of the said 'Bishop to take as before, and receiv'd his Bene'diction; prostrating himself at his Feet to Kiss 'them. Whereupon the *Veni Creator Spiritus* ha'ving been Sung, he arose and directed his Speech 'to the Bishop of *Poictiers*, and said to him, *my* '*Lord, whom must I exorcise?* To which it being 'answer'd him, by the said Bishop, *These Maids.* 'He went on and said, *What Maids?* To which 'he was answer'd, *These possessed Maids*; *So that* '(said he) *my Lord, I am then oblig'd to believe the* '*Possession*; *the Church believes it, I believe it then* '*also, although I think that a Magician cannot cause a* '*Christian to be possess'd, without his consent.* Then 'some cry'd out, that he was a Heretick to ad'vance this Belief, that that was an unquestionable 'Truth, receiv'd unanimously by all the Church, 'and approv'd by the Sorbon. Whereupon he 'answer'd, that he had never grounded his Faith 'upon it, that 'twas only his Opinion; that in e'very case he submitted to the Judgment of the 'Body, of which he was but a Member; and that 'no Person was ever accounted a Heretick, for 'having had Doubts, but for obstinately perse'vering in them; and that what he had propos'd 'to the said Lord Bishop, was to be assur'd by his 'Mouth, that he should not abuse the Authority 'of the Church. And being brought by the Fa-

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‘ ther Recollect to the Sister *Catharine*, as the most
‘ ignorant of all, and least suspected to under-
‘ stand *Latine*, he began the Exorcism in the form
‘ prescrib'd by the Ritual, but could not conti-
‘ nue long, because all the other Possessed began to
‘ be tormented by the Devils, and made strange
‘ and horrible Cries; and amongst the other, the
‘ Sister *Claire* advanc'd towards him, reproaching
‘ him for his blindness and obstinacy, so fully,
‘ that in that contention, he left the other posses-
‘ sed which he had undertook, and directed his
‘ Discourse to the Sister *Claire*. But 'tis to be ob-
‘ serv'd, that before the Exorcism began, he
‘ told her, speaking in *Latine*, as he had almost al-
‘ ways done, explaining himself a little after in
‘ *French*, That as for her, she understood *Latine*, and
‘ that he would ask her Questions in *Greek*, it be-
‘ ing one of the Marks requir'd, to justify an un-
‘ doubted Possession, and that the Devils under-
‘ stood all sorts of Languages; To whom the Devil
‘ reply'd, by the Mouth of the Possessed, *Ah! how
‘ cunning art thou? Thou knowest well, that this is one of
‘ the Conditions of the Pact, made between thee first and
‘ us, not to answer at all in* Greek. To which he an-
‘ swer'd, *O fine Illusion, O excellent Evasion!* And
‘ then 'twas told him, that he was permitted to
‘ exorcise in *Greek*, provided that he writ down
‘ first, what he would say. The said Possessed
‘ offer'd however, to answer him in what Language
‘ he would, but there was no room for that;
‘ for all the Possessed began again their Cries
‘ and outrages, with Imprecations not to be equal'd,
‘ and mighty strange Convulsions, persisting to ac-
‘ cuse the said *Grandier* of Magick, and of the Sorcery
‘ which infested them; offering to break his Neck, if
‘ 'twas permitted them, and striving all manner of

'ways to abuſe him, which was hind'red by the
'Protection of the Church, and by the Prieſts
'and Friars there preſent, taking extraordinary
'pains to reſtrain the Fury wherewith they were
'all agitated. He in the mean time, continued
'without any trouble or emotion, beholding ſted-
'faſtly the ſaid Poſſeſſed, proteſting his Inno-
'cence, and praying GOD to be his Protector;
'and addreſſing himſelf to *Monſieur* the Biſhop,
'and to *Monſieur de Laubardemont*, he told them,
'that he implor'd the Authority Eccleſiaſtical
'and Royal, whereof they were Miniſters, to
'command theſe Devils to break his Neck, or at
'leaſt to make a viſible Mark in his Forehead, in
'caſe that he was the Author of the Crimes of
'which he was accus'd, to the end, that thereby
'the Glory of GOD might be manifeſted, the
'Authority of the Church exalted, and he him-
'ſelf confounded; Provided nevertheleſs, that
'theſe Maids might not touch him with their
'Hands, which they would not at all permit, as
'well not to be the cauſe of the Miſchief which
'might befall him, as not to expoſe the Authori-
'ty of the Church to the Wiles of the Devils,
'who might have contracted ſome Pact upon this
'Subject with the ſaid *Grandier*. Then the Exor-
'ciſts, to the Number of Eight, having en-
'joyn'd the Devils ſilence, and to ceaſe the
'Diſorders they made, they order'd Fire to
'be brought in a Chafindiſh, into which were
'thrown all the Pacts, one after another,
'and then the former Aſſaults redoubled
'with Convulſions ſo horrible, Cries ſo hi-
'deous, and Poſtures ſo frightful, that that
'Aſſembly might paſs for a Sabat of Witches,
'were it not for the Holyneſs of the Place, and the
'Quality

' Quality of the Persons present, of whom the least
' concern'd, at least to outward Appearance,
' was the said *Grandier*, although he had more
' Cause than any other, the Devils continuing
' their Accusations, naming to him the Places,
' the Hours and Days of their Communications
' with him; his first Sorceries, his Scandals, his
' Insensibility, his Renunciations made of his
' Faith and of GOD; To which he reply'd,
' with a bold Assurance, that he gave the Lye
' to those Calumnies, so much the more unjust,
' as they were far remote from his Profession;
' That he renounc'd Satan and all the Devils;
' that he knew them not, and fear'd them yet less;
' that in spite of them he was a Christian, and
' a person consecrated with Holy Orders; That
' he trusted in GOD, and in Jesus Christ,
' although a great Sinner as to the Rest; but
' however, that he had never given Way to
' these Abominations, and that they could not
' give a pertinent and Authentic Testimony
' against him. And here 'tis impossible by any
' Discourse to express that which fell under the
' Senses; The Eyes and Ears receiv'd the impressi-
' on of so many Furies, that there was never any
' thing seen like them, and at least, without being
' accustom'd to such horrid Spectacles as those are
' who sacrifice to Devils. There was no courage
' which could defend it self from the Astonish-
' ment and Horrour, that this Action produced.
' *Grandier* amidst all this, continued always the
' same; that is to say, insensible of many Prodi-
' gies, singing the Hymns of the Church, with the
' rest of the People, being fearless, as if he had a
' Legion of Angels for his Guard. And truly one
' of these Devils cry'd out, that *Beelzebub* was

'then between him and Father *Tranquille* a Ca-
'pucin; and upon what he had said, addressing his
'Speech to the Devil, *Obmutescas, Be silent*,
'the said Devil began to swear, that that was the
'Watch-Word between them; but they were
'forc'd to tell all, because GOD was incompa-
'rably stronger than all Hell. So that
'all were ready to fall upon him, offering
'to Tear him in Pieces, to shew his Marks,
'and to strangle him, though he were their
'Master. Whereupon he took occasion to tell
'them, that he was neither their Master, nor
'their Servant; and that 'twas an incredible
'thing, that even in the same confession, they
'should declare him their Master, and offer to
'strangle him. And then the Maids having
'thrown their Slippers at his Head, he said, *see
'how the Devils accuse themselves.* At last this Vio-
'lence and Outrages increast to such a Degree,
'that without the succour and hind'rance of Per-
'sons who were in the Choir, the Author of this
'Spectacle would have infallibly ended his Life;
'and all they could do for him, was to get him out
'of the Church, and to save him from the fury
'which threatned him. So that he was brought
'back to his Prison, at Six of the Clock in the
'Evening, and the rest of the Day was employ'd
'to recover the Spirits of these poor Maids out of
'the Possession of the Devils.

Sect. 35. Those who writ for *Grandier*, after this Storm said, that these Maids who appear'd so insolent, that they neither had a respect for the Place, nor the Persons who were there assembled, and so enrag'd against this Poor Man, that they seem'd

ſeem'd to have a mind to tear him in Pieces, without the aid of the Guardian of the Capucins and other Exorciſts, whoſe intention was not to leave him then for a Prey to their rage, but to reſerve him for more terrible Puniſhments, the horror and quality whereof, would not ſuffer the Truth of the Poſſeſſion to be doubted of, and whereby they pretended to gain to themſelves the reputation of an extraordinary Sanctity, and miraculous Power. 'Twas obſerv'd further, that the more prudent Perſons were much aſtoniſh'd to ſee, that whilſt they were exorcis'd by *Grandier*, they anſwer'd only by a torrent of Injuries and of ſpitings which they vomited againſt him, and eſpecially that the Superior made uſe of ſo bad an evaſion for not anſwering in *Greek*; ſaying, *That there was a Pact between him and her, which debarr'd her from anſwering in that Language.* As for the Four Pacts, of which there has been mention made, 'twas promis'd ſolemnly, that one of the Four ſhould fall from the Top of the Roof of the Church to the Bottom, although the Relation has mention'd nothing of it, no more than of the precedent Fact; but they were much ſurpriz'd to ſee it fall from under the Hood of the Superior. 'Twas alſo obſerv'd that *Grandier* had expreſly requir'd, That this pretended Pact of Silence ſhould be broke. *That may be done* (ſaid he) *for GOD has given Power to his Church over the Devils, and in Truth you boaſt of having broken ſeveral others which were not of any conſequence.* But they took care not to deprive themſelves of the only means they had to except theſe Devils from a proof which they were not able to undergo. The Author of the *Demonomania* of *Loudun* has been bold enough to write, that *Grandier*

durst not venture to interrogate the Nuns in *Greek*; but although the foregoing Relation was writ by a Man so persuaded of the Possession, that for want of other Proofs in his favour, he makes use of the accused Person, which one cannot too much admire, and which could not come from the Testimony of a good Conscience. This Relation is however, sufficient to confute this Lye, for it expresly maintains, That when *Grandier* endeavour'd to interrogate in *Greek*, the Possessed interrupted him by confused and dreadful Noises, which were all the Marks of Possession that they gave in that Circumstance, which had not been so great, nor would have frighted so much the Author of the Relation, if they had not produc'd at one time the Possessed in so great a Number; and if they had not intermingled and confounded so many Cries and Voices together, and made so many Postures and different Contorsions, that they gave doubtless to this action, the air of a Diabolical and Infernal confusion, which surpriz'd those that were struck by these outward appearances, who could not imagine that the perversness of humane Nature alone, was able to produce effects so horrible, and so extravagant, that they confounded Religion, Piety and Reason.

Sect. 36. The last Day of the same Month of *June*, one of the Possessed, who was exorcis'd in the Church of *Notre Dame du Chateau*, was impudent enough to say, that *Grandier* had sent to a great many Damsels, to make them conceive with Monsters; a Thing which modesty suffers not to be nam'd, and which she then boldly call'd by the right Name; the Exorcist presupposing that the Devils

Devil had ſpoke the Truth, and without objecting to her that the pretended Magician was too well guarded to be able to attempt any thing like it; nor that one could apprehend what advantage he could receive by it, eſpecially in his preſent condition, he was contented to ask her, why the effect did not ſucceed? To whom the Maid reply'd, with abundance of immodeſt, filthy, and unbeſeeming Words, which made not any coherent Diſcourſe; and by unheard of Blaſphemies, which ſounded ſhameful to Chaſt Ears, and made People tremble who had the leaſt Piety. Neither could they contain the indignation which all theſe Horrors had excited; and they began to ſpeak of it openly, when they ſaw affix'd to all the Corners of the Town, and heard publiſh'd through all Publick Places, the following Order.

Sect. 37. 'T*IS expreſly forbid, to all Perſons of whatſoever Quality or Condition they be, to defame, or otherwiſe to undertake to ſpeak againſt the Nuns and other Perſons of* Loudun, *afflicted with evil Spirits; their Exorciſts, or thoſe that aſſiſt them, whether in Places where they are exorcis'd, or elſewhere, in any faſhion or manner whatſoever, upon the Penalty of* Ten Thouſand *Livres fine, and other greater Sums, and Corporal Puniſhment, if the Caſe deſerves it. And to the end that none pretend ignorance, this preſent Order ſhall be read or publiſh'd this Day, in the Pariſh Churches of this City, and affix'd as well to the Gates of the ſame, as in all other Places where it ſhall be requiſite. Given at* Loudun *the Second of* July, 1634.

Sect. 38. That Order absolutely stopt the Mouths of all those that had a Mind to defend the Innocence of *Grandier*. For to maintain that the Nuns where not possessed, was a Black and unpardonable reproach, against which, the justice of *Laubardemont* was arm'd with all severity, and which he pretended to punish rigorously, whilst there was no way to attain to the justification of *Grandier*, but by making out that Truth, and by convicting the Possession of Imposture. The Cabal believing themselves out of Danger, by the precautions they had taken, acted with more liberty, and with what carrier they pleas'd, in assurance, that now no one durst be so bold as to take upon him to dare only to Murmur in Private. Wherefore *Astaroth*, and two other of his Companions, or if you will, *Elizabeth Blanchard*, and two other Secular Maids, who had listed her self in the Regiment of the Possessed, did not fear to take a turn in the Country, with the Exorcist *Father Peter* a reformed Carmelite, and his Brother *Ecoute*; in spite of the scandal they must needs know it would cause in those who wond'red that the Devils who possess'd these Maids, had not hind'red these good Fathers, from having so great a familiarity with them; but they knew not that as the Jesuits gave a Play-day to their Schollars every *Thursday*, the Exorcists had a sufficient power to give one every *Tuesday* to the Devils, of whom without doubt they were the Masters.

Sect. 39. 'Tis to be presum'd, that next Day, the Third of *July*, the Devil of Sister *Claire* was also gone into the Country, and that he had left this Miserable Creature to her self; seeing that with Tears in her Eyes, she declar'd publickly in the Church of *Chateau*, whither they had brought

brought her to Exorcise her, that all that she had said for Fifteen Days, were but meer Calumnies and Impostures; That she had done nothing but by the Order of the Recollect, *Mignon* and the Carmelites; and if they sequester'd her, 'twould be found that all these things were but feign'd and malicious. She made again the same Declarations two days after, which was the Seventh of the Month; and she proceeded so far this last time, that she went out of the Church where they exorcis'd her, and would have run away, but *Demorans* ran after her and stopt her. The Sister *Agnes* embolden'd by this Example, said many times the same Things, with Tears in her Eyes, intreating those who assisted at the Exorcisms, that they would take her out of that horrible captivity, under the weight whereof she groan'd. She refus'd one Day to Communicate, assuring her Exorcist, with a serious Air, that she did not find her self in a condition to do it. He did not omit to make her believe that 'twas her Devil that caus'd that repugnance, and gave her the Communion in spite of her, notwithstanding the impiety that appear'd in this Action, and whatsoever consequences the Enemies of the Church might draw from it. These two Miserable Maids seeing no hope of Succour, said at last, that they prepar'd themselves to be extraordinarily ill treated at Home, for having reveal'd so important a Secret, but that they were tormented by their Consciences, and forc'd to speak for their Discharge; and to give Glory to GOD and the Truth, whatsoever might happen to them. *La Nogeret* protested also one Day, that she had accus'd an innocent Person, and that she begg'd Pardon of GOD; and turning herself one while towards the Bishop, another while

while towards *Laubardemont*, ſhe declar'd, that ſhe thought her ſelf bound to make this Confeſſion, for the diſcharge of her Conſcience. This laſt did nothing but laugh, and the Biſhop and the Exorciſts maintain'd, that the Devils made uſe of this Artifice to keep the People in unbelief. 'Twas neceſſary to render *Grandier* a Magician, whatſoever it coſt, and whatſoever Authentick and convincing Proofs which daily appear'd in favour of his Innocence; for they had the Secret to know, that the Devil lied, when he ſpake to his Diſcharge; and that he ſaid the Truth when he accus'd him; the Church imparting to her worthy Miniſters, her infallible lights, to diſcern the Truth from a Lie, in the contradictory propoſitions of the Devils; and theſe communicating them to the People, by means of the Authority of *Laubardemont*, whom no body had the Power or goodneſs to contradict.

Sect. 40. A young Man who was at the Exorciſms the Eighth of *July*, having ſaid in *Latine*, that there was in the Body of *Agnes*, three Devils ſerving *Grandier*, *Tres Dæmones Servientes Grandiero*; ſay *Mago*, Magician, replies a Magiſtrate, and not *Grandiero*, *Grandier*; this was a Name they reſolv'd to extinguiſh, and to be ſwallow'd up by that Magician, or at leaſt, which ſhould be reſerv'd for one of the Devils. Wherefore the *Demonomania* of *Loudun*, relating the Names of the Eight which poſſeſſed Siſter *Claire*, ſaid, that the Third was call'd *Sans Fin*, or elſe *Grandier de Dominationibus*: But People were perſuaded, that this Name, as it had Relation to *Grandier*, was likely in a ſhort time to be extinguiſh'd with his Blood, when they underſtood that they had nam'd Commiſſaries to try him. The World was already ſo well acquainted with the Method of Cardinal *Richelieu*,

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by very many ſad Examples, ſuch as had been the Execution of the Marſhal *de Marillac*, and many others, that ſince they ſaw Commiſſaries nam'd to take notice of an accuſation of a Crime, although it was not Capital, they were aſſur'd that the Cardinal was reſolv'd that the accuſed Perſon ſhould periſh by the Hands of a Hang man, and that the Commiſſaries who were always his Creatures, would not fail to execute the Bloody Orders for which they were ſent.

Sect. 41. Theſe Commiſſaries, to make and perfect the Proceſs of *Grandier*, were, in conſequence of a former Commiſſion, already come to *Loudun*, where they had aſſiſted at the Exorciſms, by the Subdelegation of *Laubardemont*, the one in one Church, and the other in another; but they would produce at the Proceſs, only the Verbal Proceſſes of the Eighth and Ninth of *July*, as made ſince their laſt Commiſſion, which was made the ſame Eighth Day of *July*, whereby it is ſignified, *That the King appoints the Sieur* de Laubardemont, *the Sieurs* Roatin, Richard *and* Chevalier, *Counſellors of the Preſidial Court of* Poictiers; Humain, *Lieutenant Criminal to the Preſidial of* Orleans; Cottereau *Preſident*; Pequineau *ſpecial Lieutenant*; *and* Burges, *Counſellor to the Preſidial of Tours*; Texier, *Lieutenant General to the Royal Tribunal of St.* Maixant; Dreux, *Lieutenant General*; de la Barre, *Special Lieutenant to the Tribunal Royal of* Chinon; la Picherie, *Lieutenant Particular to the Royal Tribunal of* Chatelleraud; *and* Rivrain, *Lieutenant General to the Royal Tribunal of* Beaufort. *For altogether, or Ten of them in the Abſence, Sickneſs, or lawful hindrance of the others, to make and perfect the Proceſs of* Grandier *and his Complices, even to a definitive Sentence, and Execution of the ſame*

incluſively,

inclusively, whatsoever Oppositions or Appeals notwithstanding, All according to the Form prescribed by Edicts and Orders; And further appoints and ordains to the Offices of Advocate, and Attorney of the King, the Sieurs Constant *Counseller and Advocate of the King of the Presidial Court of* Poictiers, *and* James Deniau, *Counsellor at* la Fleche, *in that Quality, to use conjointly, or one of the two in the place of the other, all diligence and needful expedition.* By Virtue of which Commission, all those who were there named, except *Constant*, the King's Advocate at *Poictiers*, who forbore medling in it, made the Process against *Grandier*, and condemn'd him to be burnt alive. But it was not put into the Hands of the Commissaries, as soon as it had been deliver'd; in the mean time there had happen'd, and did happen still, surprizing things at *Chinon*, as well as *Loudun*.

Sect. 42. *Barre*, to whom the Function of Exorcist was exceedingly acceptable, seeing himself, for convenience, excluded from exorcising at *Loudun*, instructed and fitted so well in secret, two of his Votaries of *Chinon*, that he ventur'd at length, to produce them in Publick, as being possessed; One was call'd *Catharine*, and the other *Jeanne*, he began, the Thirtieth of *May*, 1634, to exorcise them in the Church of Saint *James*, of which he was the Curate. The Lieutenant General of the place made Verbal Processes of that which past at these Exorcisms, and for as much as by the Example of those of *Loudun*, they accus'd *Grandier* of their being bewitch'd, they fail'd not to produce also, their Verbal Processes against him, to which there was much regard shewn, as also to other Pieces of this nature, whereas they gave none to those of the Bailiff of *Loudun*, the Leiutenant Civil, and the other

other Judges, where the Truth was ſo clearly repreſented, and where might have been found more than convincing proofs of the Falſhood of the Accuſation, and of that of the Poſſeſſion, which they perceiv'd ſo well, that to deſtroy them, they had recourſe to new Artificers, by rend'ring theſe Magiſtrates ſuſpected. For they caus'd the Bailiff to be accus'd of Magick, by the Perſons Poſſeſs'd at *Chinon*; whoſe Probity ſo well known to all the World, could not ſhelter him from this attempt; and there were ſome People credulous enough to believe ſo ridiculous a Calumny, which was not contriv'd till after the Cabal of the Confederates of the Poſſeſſion had fail'd in another attempt; which they would have put upon him in this manner. A Beggar-Woman having knock'd at his Gate, put a Letter into the Hands of one of his Servants, which ſhe ſaid ſhe receiv'd of a Man who rode through the Street on Horſe-back, ordering her to carry it to him: The Bailiff having receiv'd that Letter, and open'd it, he ſaw that there was a Propoſition made him, to aſſiſt in a Deſign for *Grandier's* eſcape, which they promis'd to execute infallibly, if he would well inſtruct them where the place of his Priſon was, giving him notice that they waited for his anſwer, at the *White-Horſe-Inn* in *Chinon*. As the Name, the Seal, and Writing were unknown to him, he miſtruſted the Snare that was laid for him; and in Order to eſcape it, he ſent the Letter to *Laubardemont*; cauſing him to underſtand, that he thought himſelf bound in Duty to take that courſe, to the end, that whether feignedly, or otherwiſe, it happen'd, that ſome violence ſhould be offer'd to the Houſe where *Grandier* was Priſoner, he might not be accus'd or ſuſpected of being the Author of ſuch

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an Enterprize. Sometime after, judging that he had nothing more to fear in that intrigue, he earnestly desir'd to have the Letter again, and offer'd to give his Receipt for it; and upon the refusal that was made him, he entreated at least a Copy of it, compar'd with the Original, to make a strict enquiry after those who were the Authors, and to prosecute them at Law. *Laubardemont* was deaf to his requests, and thereby secur'd his Friends from a diligent search, which would not have been for their reputation, although he should even have made use of his Authority, which seem'd without bounds to shelter them from the rigour of Justice.

Sect. 43. They gave not thus over their Designs upon him, they endeavour'd to affront him to the utmost; for one of his near Kinswomen was accus'd of Magick, by *Elizabeth Blanchard*, a secular Maid, Possessed, who was lodg'd in the House of the Widdow *Barot*, Sister of *Mignon's* Brother-in-law, and allied almost to all the Cabal. This possessed Person said one Day, in the presence of the Judges Commissaries, *Roatin*, *Richard*, and *Chevalier*, that that Gentlewoman was a Witch; and that one of her intimate Friends had brought from her a Pact, compos'd almost as the others, whereof mention has been made before; but they found that that Accusation had caus'd so much scandal and murmuring in *Loudun*, where the Bailiff was much belov'd, that they thought best to oblige the Devil to unsay it again next Day, and to order him also to be silent; concerning other Officers of the Town, whom he had resolv'd to accuse of keeping a School of Magick, as he had already dar'd to speak the precedent Day to the Bishop of *Poictiers* in his Ear, and the Bishop had reveal'd it, before they had determin'd to stifle this Project, or at least

to

to ſuſpend it till after the Death of *Grandier.*

*Sect.*44.In the mean time the Bailiff was ſo odious to the Authors of the Poſſeſſion, that they could not refrain from diſcovering their hatred and miſchievous intentions againſt him,in the Perſon of his Wife; who going into a Church where they exorcis'd, and where the Biſhop was preſent, one of the Poſſeſſed Whiſper'd to him, that that Lady was a Magician. Afterwards ſhe repeated it aloud, ſpeaking it to her ſelf, *you have brought a Pact into this Church*, ſaid ſhe to her impudently. The Bailiffs Wife, who wanted not Preſence of Mind nor Courage, addreſt inſtantly her Prayers to GOD with a loud Voice, and made divers Imprecations againſt the Devils, and againſt the Magicians; and in concluſion, ſhe call'd upon the Exorciſt to confound immediately, either her, or the pretended Poſſeſſed; and to make appear the Truth or the Falſhood of that Accuſation, by cauſing the Devil to produce the Pact, according as they had the Power of the Church, and had boaſted to have caus'd many others to be produc'd. Whereupon the Exorciſts Conjur'd the Devils, and order'd them to Obey, and repeated to them their Commands and Conjurations ſo long, and at ſo many ſeveral times, that they ſpent two whole Hours in it; till the Night came upon them, which put them out of Perplexity, compelling the Company to depart.

Sect. 45. The laſt Commiſſion before mention'd, appear'd by the Publication which was made, and by the regiſt'ring of it; after which the Judges Commiſſaries being aſſembled the Twenty Sixth of *July*, at the Convent of the Carmelites, they appointed there the Seſſions, and the next Day, the

the Twenty Seventh, they nam'd for Reporters *Houmain*, Lieutenant Criminal of *Orleans*, and *Texier* Lieutenant General Saint *Maixant*. The first was lodg'd at *Duthibaut's* House, and every one of the others lodg'd with the Enemies of *Grandier*. The Twenty Eighth they order'd that a Copy of their Commission should be signified to him, and the Order was executed the same Day. He writ to his Mother at the same time, the following Letter.

Mother,

Sect. 46. T*HE Kings deputed Attorney has given me your Letter, by which you inform me, that they have found my Papers in my Chamber, and have retain'd such as might serve for my Justification, to put them into my hands; but they have not given me them; If I should have them, I am not in a condition to draw up Writings. As for the Memorials I cannot say any thing, but what I have said at the Process, which consists in two Articles. To the first, they examin'd me upon the Facts of my first accusation, to which I have given satisfaction, and alledged that I am fully justified, which must be made appear by producing my Four Sentences of Absolution,* viz. *Two of the Presidial of* Poictiers, *and two others of my Lord Archbishop of* Bourdeaux. *That if my Lords the Commissaries doubt of the Equity of the same, they may, by their Authority, procure the Process which is in the Registry of the Court of Parliament, with my Case, which serves to discovor the Evil Practices that were then us'd against me. The Second Article is touching Magick and the Affliction of the Nuns, upon which I have nothing to say but a very evident Truth, which is, that I am wholy innocent, and wrongfully accus'd; for which*

which I have made my complaint to Justice; Which must be made appear by producing the Verbal Processes of Monsieur *the*Bailiff,*wherein are inserted all the Petitions that I have presented, as well to the Judges Royal, as to my Lord the Archbishop; whereof I gave once a fair Copy to my Lord* de Laubardemont, *that the King's Attorney has told me that he had also produc'd them. Be pleased to cause a Petition to be drawn up by our Attorney, who shall take such counsel as he shall think good. My Answers contain my Defences and Reasons: I have exhibited nothing that I do not justifie by my Writings and Witnesses, if my said Lords give me leave. For the rest, I rely upon the Povidence of GOD, the Testimony of my Conscience, and the equity of my Judges; for the inlightning of whom I make continual Prayers to GOD, and for the conservation of my good Mother; to whom I pray GOD to restore me shortly, to render her better than I have ever done, the Services of her Son,*

and Servant,

Grandier.

And by a Postscript.

Forasmuch as I know nothing here of that which is past abroad in the World, if there has happen'd any thing in those Public Acts which may be useful, you may employ them as the Counsel shall thikn fit. They have read to me the Commimion of the King, with the Names of my Lords the Judges deputed to judge the Process definitively; and they have given me the List of their Names, which I send you.

Sect. 47. Whatsoever was the Opinion that he had of his Judges, those amongst the disinterested Persons, who had some Commerce with them, knew well that his destruction was resolv'd on, with which they were not then so sensibly touch'd, as they had been, if they had not had a Mind employ'd in attending all the consequences of that Affair, which seem'd to threaten every particular Person with a like usage in his turn, by the Establishment of that Proposition, *That the Devil duly exorcis'd, is compell'd to speak the Truth.* The Judges Commissaries shewing by all their proceedings, that they had Order to Authorize this Maxim. This Reflection concern'd the most insensible Persons, and oblig'd them to put themselves into a condition to prevent the effects of so dangerous a Doctrine; At last all the Inhabitants being assembled upon the ringing of the Bell of the *Town-House*, resolv'd to address themselves directly to the King, to whom they writ the following Letter:

SIR,

Sect. 48. *THE Officers and Inhabitants of your Town of* Loudun, *do find themselves at last oblig'd to have recourse to your Majesty, most Humbly remonstrating, that the Exorcisms, that are made in the said Town of* Loudun, *on the Nuns of Saint* Ursula, *and some secular Maids, who are said to be possess'd with evil Spirits, a Thing is committed very prejudicial to the Public, and to the quiet of your faithful Subjects, in as much as the Exorcists abusing their Ministry, and the Authority of the Church, propose Questions in the Exorcisms, which tend to the defamation of the best Families of the said Town, and Monsieur* Laubardemont, *Counsellor, deputed by your Majesty, has heretofore given so much*

credit

credit to the Sayings and Answers of these Devils, That upon a false indication by them made, he had been in the House of a Gentlewoman with a great noise and number of People, to make a search for imaginary Books of Magick. As also other Gentlewomen had been stopt in the Church, and the Doors shut to make an enquiry for certain pretended Magical Pacts, likewise imaginary. Since then, this mischief has gone so far, that at this time, they make such consideration of the Denunciations, Testimonies and Indications of the said Devils, that there has been Printed a Pamphlet, and publish'd in the said Town, by which they would establish this Belief in the Minds of the Judges, 'That the Devils duly 'exorcis'd speak the Truth; that one may upon 'their Deposition pass a reasonable Judgment; and 'that next to the Truths of the Faith, and Demonstrations of Sciences, there is not a greater 'certainty than that which comes from them; 'and that when they believe the words of the 'Devil duly exorcis'd, they take his words not 'as the Father of Lies, but of the Church, which 'has Power to make the Devils to speak Truth. *And to establish yet more powerfully this dangerous Doctrine, that there has been made in the said Town, and in the presence of Monsieur* de Laubardemont, *two Sermons in conformity to the above said Propositions. In consequence whereof, and upon such denunciations, the said Sieur* de Laubardemont *has again very lately caus'd to be arrested and taken Prisoner by an Exempt of the Grand Provost, a Maid of the best Families in the City, the same having been kept two Days in the House of a Gentleman, a Widower, then releas'd into the Hands, and under the Security of her kindred. In such sort,* Sir, *that the Petitioners see and know, that they strive, to establish amongst them; and in the Heart of your most Christian Kingdom, a resemblance of the*

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Ancient Oracles against the express Prohibition of the Divine Law, and the Example of our Saviour, who has not suffer'd Devils to speak and publish things true and necessary to be believ'd, against the Authority of the Apostles, and ancient Fathers of the Church, who have always made them hold their peace, and forbid to enquire of them, or become familiar with them; And also against the Doctrine of Saint Thomas, *and other Doctors and Luminaries of the Church. But besides that, the mischievous Maxims inserted in this Pamphlet, and which they wou'd now bring into credit, have been heretofore, and since the Year* 1620, *rejected by the advice of the most Famous and renowned Doctors of the* Sorbonn, *and since then condemn'd by the Decree, Censure and general Decision of the Faculty of* Paris, *made in the Year* 1623, *upon a Book publish'd concerning Three Jesons possess'd in* Flanders, *which contain the like Propositions with those now in question. Therefore the Petitioners induc'd by their proper interest, considering, that if they Authorise these Devils in their Answers and Oracles, the best Men, and the most virtuous and innocent, to whom consequently these Devils bear a mortal hatred, would remain expos'd to their Malice; humbly request and beseech your Majesty to interpose your Royal Authority for the putting a stop to these abuses and profanations of Exorcisms, which are daily made at* Loudun, *in the presence of the Holy Sacrament, wherein you will imitate the Zeal of the Emperor* Charlemagne, *one of your most august Predecessors, who hinder'd and did forbid the abuse which was committed in his time, by the application of some Sacraments, the usage whereof they alter'd and perverted, contrary to the design and end of their Institution. For these Reasons,* Sir, *may it please your Majesty, to ordain the said Faculty of* Paris *to examine the said Pamphlet and Censure hereto annex'd, to interpose*

their

their Decree upon the Propositions, Doctrines, and Resolutions abovemention'd, whereunto your Majesty may give them such Power as is requisite ; And that it may be permitted to the said Petitioners, and those amongst them who shall be concern'd to lodge an Appeal, by Writ of Error from the Interrogatories tending to defamation, made by the said Exorcists, and from all this which ensued thereupon, and to get relief of them either in the Court of Parliament of Paris, *which is the natural Judge thereof, or in such other Court as it shall please your Majesty to ordain. And your Petitioners shall continue to pray to GOD for the Prosperity, Grandure and Inlargement of your just and glorious Empire.*

Sect. 49. This Letter or Petition will not suffer the Reader to doubt of what has been related concerning the Opinions which the honest People had of the Proceedings of the Exorcists, and those of *Laubardemont*, who was highly provok'd by this Action, and this Resolution, as well as the other Commissaries. But because they addres's'd themselves to the King directly, they did not think fit to attempt any thing against those who had resolv'd it, and were contented only to make the following Order.

By the KING.

An EXTRACT of the Registers of the Commissioners appointed by the King, for the Judgment of the Process Criminal, made against Monsieur Urbain Grandier, *and his Complices.*

‘WHereas it has been remonstrated by the King's Attorney General, that on *Tuesday* last the Eighth of this Month, the Bailiff of this Town call'd together an Assembly, compos'd for the most part of the Inhabitants professing the pretended reform'd Religion, and of Handicrafts Men, in which there was held many injurious Discourses, and tending to Sedition and popular Commotions, upon Facts falsly and calumniously averred, concerning the Exorcisms which are made publickly in this Town by the King's Authority, and other things depending on our Commission; And upon the notice which has since then been given us by him, We have heard as well the Lieutenant Criminal as the King's Advocate and Attorney of the Bailiwick of this Town, together with the General Assessors, and Sheriffs of the same, and Champion Clerk of the said Assembly; and examin'd a Memorial containing the Names of those who assisted at it, by which Act appears the Enterprize and Attempt made by the said Bailiff in the said Assembly, and the injurious Discourses which have been held there, which are disown'd by the discreetest and best qualified of the said Inhabitants, who judg'd that the Consequence thereof, might be very pernicious to the Service of the King, and to the Authority of the Court, if it were not speedily prevented. And there-

‘upon

'upon requir'd that the ſaid Act of the Aſſembly 'might be Cancell'd and Annull'd, and the injuri- 'ous Diſcourſes held by them may be razed and 'blotted out, with prohibitions, as at other times, 'to the ſaid Bailiff and all others to make the 'like Aſſembly, and in the ſame to propoſe any 'thing concerning the Exorciſms, and other Facts 'depending on our Commiſſion; and that he was 'more amply inform'd of the injurious diſcourſes 'tending to Sedition, held as well in the ſaid 'Aſſembly, as elſewhere; for the information, held, 'made and communicated to him, Right ſhould be 'done as is fitting; and having ſeen the ſaid Act of the 'Aſſembly of the ſaid 9th Day of the preſent Month, 'a Liſt of the Names and Sirnames of ſome of the 'ſaid Inhabitants who aſſiſted in the ſaid Aſſembly; 'Our Verbal Proceſs of the Eighth and Ninth of 'the ſaid Month, containing the hearing of the ſaid 'Lieutenant Criminal, Advocate and Attorney 'of the King in the Bailiwick, and of the ſaid 'Champion; The Decree of the ſaid Ninth Day of 'the preſent Month, And all being conſider'd, the 'ſaid Commiſſaries deputed by the King, Sovereign 'Judges in this Cauſe, without having any regard to 'the ſaid Act of the preſent Month, which we have 'Cancell'd and do Cancel as Null, made by attempt 'againſt the Reſpect and Authority given us by 'the King, and upon Facts calumnious and in- 'jurious, and tending to a popular Sedition, and 'contrary to uſual Forms, by practices, and 'private combinations; Have order'd, and do 'Order, that the Minutes of the ſaid Act ſhall 'be exhibited, and put in our Regiſtry by Champi- 'on Clerk of the ſaid Aſſembly this Day, that 'the ſame having been ſeen and communicated to 'the Kings Attorney General, We prohibit and 'forbid as formerly, as well the ſaid Bailiff, Gene-

'ral Assessors, and others, either to call together 'hereafter such Assemblies, or in any others, a'bout things concerning the said Power given us 'by his Majesties Commission, or in any manner to 'meddle with the Fact hereof, upon the Penalty of '20000 Livres fine, and other greater Sum, if 'the Case requires it; saving to the said Inhabi'tants and other Persons, liberty to address them'selves to us upon the complaints they would 'make concerning that which past at the Exor'cisms, and other circumstances and dependen'cies of our Commission; and doing right more'over to the Conclusions of the King's Attorney, 'have Enacted, and do Enact, That there shall be a 'fuller Information made before us of the injurious 'and seditious Propositions which have been 'made, as well in the said Assembly, as elsewhere, for 'the said information related and communicated 'to the King's Attorney, to be provided such a 'Decree, as shall appertain thereunto. And to 'the end, that our persent Order may be known 'to every one, we command that it be signified as 'well to the Person of the said Bailiff, as to the 'General Assessors of the Town, and more'over read and publish'd by Sound of Trumpet, 'and fix'd to the places and Corners of the said 'Town, as accustom'd to be done. *Given at* 'Loudun, *the—Day of* August, 1634. *Sign'd* Nozai '*Clerk.*

Sect. 50. If the Petition was an undeniable Proof of the Sentiments of the Publick, this Decree is one no less evident of the unjust and Arbitrary Power, which *Laubardemont* usurp'd. This little Tyrant would that they should address to him upon the Complaints they had to make against himself, and of the manner whereby he a-

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bus'd the Power which he had in his Hand. He order'd that the Petitions they had drawn up to present to the King, should be suppress'd and torn in Pieces; and that there should be an Information made against the Authors of such an attempt, or rather of so lawful a Proceeding. Certainly it had been very difficult, that the Voice of a private Person, and a miserable Captive, as this *Grandier* was, should have been able to arrive at the Ears of the Monarch; if this of all the Inhabitants of a Town, assembled in a Body with their Officers, according to Custom, and in the prescrib'd Rules, was stifled and stopt, by artificial and violent Means.

Sect. 51. Two Days after this Order had been publish'd and posted up, *Grandier* caus'd a Petition to be presented to his Judges, tending to a Second Visit; And these are some of the Reasons upon which it was grounded. 'Do not my Lords, rely upon the Visit that was pretended to have been made, you may consider the nullities by the Case which has been presented to you; But 'twas omitted that *Adam* the Apothecary impudently thrusting himself amongst these pretended Physicians, and *Mannouri* the Chirurgeon, into the Chamber where the Visit was made, he dar'd to sign the Report which was given, whereof Monsieur *de Laubardemont* having been advertiz'd, severely reprov'd this Man, in such manner that 'twas needful to disallow this Report; and to make another, which as 'tis said, has been done upon other like occasions. He besought the Judges not to defer the ordering this Second Visit, which if well and duly made by Physicians of Probity and Ability, would be as a Touch-stone to discover the Truth. He

remonstrated

remonstrated to them, That the Physicians of Villages and young Men, ought not to be call'd upon an occasion so extraordinary; That they ought not to be lodg'd in the Houses of his declar'd Enemies, nor to have daily communications with them, and with the Nuns; That the Head of *Mannouri* the Chirurgeon, which shook much, without doubt through some fault of the Brain, was not proper to discern the principals of the Actions in controversy, nor make a solid Judgment of them; That the surest way to penetrate into this Business, would be to do, as the Lords in Parliament setting at *Thouars* did, according to the Recital which *Pigrai*, Chirurgeon to *Henry* the Third, made *in the Tenth Chapter of his Epitome of Physic and Chirurgery*; wherein he says, that Fourteen Persons who were accus'd of Sorcery, having been condemn'd to Death by the Judges of the Places, after having been visited before them, were notwithstanding sent away absolv'd by the Parliament, upon the new Visit which was made by the Author, in the presence of two Counsellors of the Court, appointed for that purpose, and of Three of the King's Physicians, by whom there was found neither Mark nor Appearance of those things wherewith the accused Persons had been charg'd. This Chirurgeon added, that he did not know that 'twas the capacity or fidelity of those who had given their Report; but *Grandier* maintain'd that he knew but two much, that 'twas the incapacity and malice of those who had visited him. This Request was not more favourably answer'd than the precedent, They have however acknowledg'd in the Extract of the Proofs which are in the Process, *&c.* 'That this may be said against the Instruction, That the Chirurgeon, who assisted at the 'Visits,

'Visits, was a Kinsman of the Sieur *de Silly*, who 'was said to be one of the Instruments of the De-'struction of *Grandier*, but that he was there but 'as a Witness, and that they were the Six Physici-'ans not suspected, who assisted there and gave 'their Report: But who will believe it? And how can it be maintain'd, That he who manag'd the Probe, and apply'd it, was but a Witness in this Action? Can one refrain from concluding that these are the Physicians who were indeed but Witnesses? and yet Witnesses suspected, blameable and disallow'd, although by a continuation of Injustice, they have not been willing to allow of lawful causes of recusation which were alledg'd against them.

Sect. 52. So many irregular and violent proceedings, so many denials of Justice, so many refusals to hear only the defences of the Person accus'd, to receive the Petitions and Papers which he gave, and to impart to him those which were produc'd against him; All this began to make him open his Eyes upon his approaching destruction, and to make him to understand that there was no mean between these two extreams; either that he must be punish'd as a Sorcerer and a Magician, or that a Convent of Nuns, many Monks and Ecclesiasticks, and a Number of considerable Lay-Persons should be expos'd to the Penalties which they deserv'd for the most horrid of all Calumnies, and the blackest of all Conspiracies that could be made against the Life and Honour of an innocent Person; and which Calumnies had been so visibly supported by a Bishop, and by a Commissary of the King, that they could not avoid having a part of the infamy with which the culpable were stain'd. But although he well perceiv'd that he must die

an Innocent, to save a great Number of Guilty Persons, and that he had resign'd himself to the Will of GOD, he would not however abandon his own Defence; and he Wrote for this purpose the Discourse, of which mention has been many times already made; Intituled, *Fins et Conclusions absolutoires*, &c. Which begins in these Words: 'I beseech you 'in all Humility, to consider advisedly and 'with attention, that which the Prophet says 'in the Eighty Second *Psalm*, which contains 'a very Holy Admonition, and bids you exe-'cute your Offices with all Righteousness and 'Impartiality, considering, that being but Mortal 'Men you shall appear before GOD the 'Sovereign Judge of the World, to render him 'an Account of your Administration. This an-'ointed of GOD speaks this Day to you 'who are sent to Judge, and says to you, '*GOD stands in the Congregation of the mighty*, 'He is a Judge in the middle of Judges. *How 'long will* you have a Regard to the Appearance 'of *the Persons of the Wicked.* You *are Gods 'Children of the most high*; nevertheless you '*shall die like other Men*, and you, who are Princes, 'shall fall as other Men.

Sect. 53. The beginning of this Discourse was grave and moving; it was presented to the Bishop, and to the other Persons of Authority, as well as to the Commissaries: The first Effect it produc'd was, that this Prelate, after having assisted at the Exorcisms, sent to *Loudun* a Sentence, in Form of a Decree, Dated at his House at *Dissai*, of the 10*th* of *August*, containing, *that the Ursuline Nuns of* Loudun, *and the Secular Maids, were truly tormented by Devils, and possessed by Evil Spirits.* This was

was ſignified to the Perſon accus'd, with a Copy of the Advice and Reſolution of *Andrew Daval*, *Nicholas Imbert*, *Anthony Martin*, and *James Forton*, Doctors of the *Sorbonn* at *Paris*, who had deliver'd their Opinions upon the Facts which had been propos'd to them, which were abſolutely feign'd and falſe, *viz.* That the *Nuns* had been lifted up from the Ground to the heighth of Two Foot, and that being laid all at Length, without the help either of Feet or Hands, and without bending their Bodies, they had been rais'd up. They proceeded alſo to his Hearing, and at length they prepar'd themſelves for the Judgment of the Proceſs. 'Father *Tranquille* ſays, That the Judges ſeeing themſelves charg'd with an Affair, which drew upon them the Eyes of all *France*, and even of all Chriſtendom, and which ſeem'd to be intangl'd with a Thouſand Difficulties, and the Succeſs whereof drew very great Conſequences, they reſolv'd all with one accord, to addreſs themſelves firſt to GOD, who is the Fountain of Light and Truth, and that each of them ſhould prepare himſelf by Confeſſion and the Communion often reiterated, to receive the Grace and Aſſiſtance of Heaven. They began, added he, this Action by a general Proceſſion, to ſhew that they were firſt to excite the People to Devotion by their Examples; they continued all the Feſtivals and *Sundays*, during the Judgment of the Proceſs, to viſit alſo the Churches of the Town, and the Holy Sacrament expoſed there, to cauſe a Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt to be ſung with Solemnity, with a Sermon, making publick and frequent Prayers, that it would pleaſe GOD to conduct them in their Affair, and to illuminate them with his Spirit, to render Juſtice to whom

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'it belong'd, according to the Intention of his 'Majesty and the Duty of their Consciences.

Sect. 54. These Commissaries being so devoutly prepar'd, they met together the 18*th* of *August*, early in the Morning, at the Convent of the *Carmelites*, where they made an Order, by which, after having openly read the King's Commission, and the Papers which had been produc'd by each Side, they pronounc'd the Condemnation of *Grandier* in these Words; *We have declar'd, and do declare, the said* Urban Grandier *duly attainted and convicted of the Crime of Magick, Sorcery, and the Possessions happen'd by his Act, to the Persons of some* Ursuline Nuns *of this Town of* Loudun *and other Seculars, together with other Causes and Crimes resulting thereupon. For Reparation whereof, we have condemn'd, and do condemn the said* Grandier *to undergo an honourable Amand, Bare-headed, a Rope about his Neck, holding in his Hand a burning Torch of Two Pounds Weight, before the principal Door of the Church of St.* Peter's *in the Market, and before that of St.* Ursula *in this said Town, and there, upon his Knees to ask Pardon of GOD, the King and the Court, and this done, to be conducted to the Publick Place of St.* Crosse, *and there to be ty'd to a Post upon a Wood-Pile, which shall be made in the said place for this purpose, and there his Body to be burnt alive, with the Pacts and Magical Characters remaining in the Registry, together with the Manuscript by him made against the Celibacy of Priests; and his Ashes to be cast into the Wind. We have declar'd, and do declare, All and every of his Goods to accrue and be confiscated to the King, after there has been rais'd by the sale of them 150 Livres, to be employ'd for the buying a Copper-Plate, on which shall be engrav'd the Extract of the present Sentence, and the same to be set in an eminent Place of the said Church of the*

the Urſulines, *to continue there to Perpetuity. And before the Execution of the preſent Sentence, we Command that the ſaid* Grandier *ſhall be put to the Rack, ordinary and extraordinary, upon the Articles of his Complices. Pronounc'd at* Loudun *to the ſaid* Grandier, *and drawn up the* 18th *of* Auguſt, 1634.

Sect. 55. Father *Tranquille*, and the Author of the *Demonomany* of *Loudun*, have writ concerning the Death of *Grandier*, abundance of falſe, childiſh and ridiculous Things They have Reproach'd him, that he had deſir'd *a Mitigation of his Puniſhment.* He was much to blame, without doubt, to be mov'd with the Proſpect of an infamous and cruel Death, the only Thought whereof would make one tremble with Horrour! *It was*, ſay theſe Writers, *becauſe he had more care of his Body than of his Soul.* With like Reaſons, one might eaſily make Criminal the moſt innocent Actions; but to diſcharge this unhappy Victim of the Hypocriſy of the *Monks*, Charity obligeth us to ſay with the Scripture, *That no one hateth his own Fleſh*; and to believe that he had a regard for his Soul, and that he fear'd that his Conſtancy, his Faith and his Hope, ſuch as they might be, ſhould ſink under the Weight of ſo terrible a Puniſhment. They have further reproach'd him, *That he had not vouchſaf'd to look upon the Crucifix, nor on an Image of the Virgin; that he ſhook his Head when they threw Holy Water upon him; that when they offer'd it to him, he wou'd not drink, or that he drank but very little; that he invoked not the Virgin; and that he knew not the Prayer of the Guardian Angel.* Theſe are the Arguments which theſe Authors dar'd to alledge as demonſtrative, and ſufficient to prove by the Circumſtances of the Death of *Grandier*, that he was a Magician. 'Tis true, that they add, *That*

That he neither call'd upon God the Father, nor Jesus Christ; nor that he desir'd the Assistance of any one, unless of a Huguenot Apostate and Relapse, who stood near him. This Matter has been acknowledg'd to be false by all the Spectators, who were near enough to understand what he said, and this apostatiz'd relapsed *Huguenot* being present and Praying alone for the suffering Person, is a Contrivance so agreeable to the Genius of Monks, that if one did not feel ones Heart fill'd with Pity, Horrour, and Indignation, one could not contain from Laughter at the Reading of it, as well as of that which they have written besides; *That after his Legs had been wash'd, which had been torn by the Rack, and that they had brought him to the Fire, to recover somewhat of Spirits and Vigour, he forbore not to entertain himself with his Guards, by Discourses little serious and full of Raillery; That he did eat with an Appetite, and drink with Pleasure, Three or Four Draughts, and that he shed not any Tears whilst he suffer'd the Rack, nor after he had undergone it, nor even when they exorcis'd him with the Exorcism appointed for Magicians; and that the Exorcist said to him more than Fifty times,* Præcipio, ut si sis innocens, effundas lachrymas, *I command thee if thou art innocent, to shed Tears:* As if Compression and Pain were not able to be natural Causes of this last Accident, supposing that it was true; and as if the Horrour and Indignation which he could not withhold himself from conceiving, were not capable to keep his Eyes dry and inflam'd; and in fine, as if nothing extraordinary could happen in a Body so horribly misus'd, and in a Mind so extreamly provok'd. But all these things were devis'd and related, on purpose to insinuate, that the Power of the Devils made him insensible of all

all the Cruelties which were exorcis'd upon his Perſon. They have further imputed to him, that he refus'd to be confeſs'd, by anſwering, *That 'twas but Four Days agoe ſince he was confeſs'd, nevertheleſs, that he wou'd do what they would have him:* To which, Sincerity ought to have oblig'd theſe Writers to have added, that having not Confidence enough in Father *Lactance*, nor in the *Capucins*, he deſir'd for his Confeſſor the Father Guardian of the *Cordeliers*, named Father *Grillau*; which was barbarouſly refus'd him, notwithſtanding the repeated Supplications he made to obtain this laſt Conſolation.

Sect. 56. He demanded alſo in the Extremity of his Torture, of *Lactance*, who cry'd to him without Intermiſſion, *dicas*, *dicas*, and who, for that Reaſon, was call'd by the People, *Father Dicas*, if he believ'd that a Man of Sincerity, ought with a good Conſcience to accuſe himſelf of a Sin which he had never committed, ſo much as in Thought? The *Exorciſt* durſt not go ſo far as to tell him that he might; whereupon the Patient conjur'd him to let him die in Peace; and this is that which they call'd *Impenitence and hardneſs of Heart*; for ſay they, *he has confeſs'd greater Crimes than Magick.* But when one continues to read on, and ſearch with Curioſity what were theſe Crimes greater than Magick, of which they pretend he accus'd himſelf of, it will be found they were *Crimes of Frailty and Humane Infirmity*, ſuppoſing nevertheleſs, that theſe Sins were as enormous as that of Magick; By what Conſequence muſt it be, that he was guilty of this laſt, becauſe he was of the others? In the mean time, though it pleas'd theſe able Caſuiſts to make theſe ſorts of Sins to be equal, they hindred not the Sentiments of the pretended Magician from being accounted more

reasonable, and be more Universally follow'd than theirs; for see how he explains himself in his *Conclusions Absolvatory*, &c. upon this Subject: *The Crime of Magick, is the most horrible, most abominable, and most detestable that one can imagin, being the Crime of High Treason against God, in the highest Degree; the Fruit whereof, is Punishment without Remission.*

Sect. 57. We shall not relate here, the Testimonies that the Author of the *Demonomania* has drawn from the Mouth of the Devils, and which he made use of against *Grandier*, although they are so ridiculous and impertinent, that they would not fail to increase the Indignation of the Reader; 'tis not to be doubted, that the very Title, namely, The Testimonies of the Devil might not be taken for a Reproach, and a sufficient Confutation of all the rest which that Book contains. 'Twill then be more to the Purpose, to make a Recital of the Death of this unfortunate Man, taken from several Relations of Sincere and Unconcern'd Persons.

Sect. 58. *Friday* the 18*th.* of *August*, 1634. *Francis Fourneau* Surgeon, was sent for by *Laubardemont*, and although he was ready to obey willingly and at that instant, nevertheless they hurried him from his House, and carried him as a Prisoner to the Place where *Grandier* was detain'd. Having been introduc'd there into the Chamber, *Grandier* was heard to speak to *Mannouri* in these Words; *Cruel Hangman, art thou come to dispatch me? Thou knowest, inhumane Wretch, the Cruelty thou hast executed upon my Body; here continue, and make an end of killing me.* Then one of the Exempts of the great Provost of the Hostel, whom *Laubardemont* caus'd to be call'd Exempt of the King's Guards, commanded *Fourneau* to Shave

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Grandier, and to take from him all the Hair upon his Head and Face and all the Parts of his Body; *Fourneau* going to execute this Order, one of the Judges told him, that he ought alſo to take off his Eye-brows and his Nails. The Patient expreſt that he would obey and let him do it; but the Surgeon proteſted that he would not do any thing in it, whatſoever Command he might receive, and pray'd him to Pardon him, if he laid his Hands upon him. *I believe*, ſaid *Grandier*, *you are the only Perſon that has Pity on me*; Whereupon *Fourneau* reply'd to him, *Sir*, *you ſee not all the World.* There were ſeen upon his Body but Two natural Spots or little Moles, the one plac'd near the Groin, and the other higher upon the Back, which the Surgeon found very ſenſible. When this was done, they gave him not his own Cloaths, but others very bad; afterwards, although his Sentence of Condemnation had been pronounc'd in the Convent of the *Carmelites*, he was conducted by the Exempt of the Grand Provoſt, with Two of his Guards; and by the Provoſt of *Loudun* and his Lieutenant; and by the Provoſt of *Chinon* in a cloſe Coach to the Palace of *Loudun*, where many Ladies of Quality were ſitting on the Judges Seats in the Chamber of Audience, *Laubardemont*'s Lady taking the chiefeſt Place, although ſhe was inferior to a Number of others who were there preſent; *Laubardemont* was in the uſual Place of the Clerk, and the Clerk of the Commiſſion was ſtanding before him. There were Guards round the Palace, and all Avenues ſet by the Major *Memin*, who was alſo in the Palace ſtanding near the King's Attorney of the Commiſſion, and below the Ladies. When *Grandier* was entred into the Palace, they caus'd him to ſtay ſome time at the Bottom of the Hall, near

the Chamber of Audience, and after he had been introduc'd, and that he had past the Bar, he fell upon his Knees, without putting off either his Hat or his Cap, because he had his hands bound. The Clerk having rais'd him up to make him come near to *Laubardemont*, he put himself again into the same posture, and the Clerk and the Exempt taking off briskly, the one his Hat, and the other his Cap, they cast them on one side of *Laubardemont*. *Lactance* and another Recollect, who had accompanied him from his Prison to the Palace, were attir'd in their Albs and Stoles, and before they made him enter into the Chamber, they had exorcis'd the Air, the Earth and the other Elements, as also the Patient himself, to the end, that the Devil might quit his Person. Being thus upon his Knees, and his Hands joyn'd, the Clerk said to him, *Turn thee, thou wretched Man, adore the Crucifix which is upon the Judges Seat*, which he did with great Humility, and lifting up his Eyes towards Heaven, he continued some time in mental Prayer. When he had put himself into his former Posture, the Clerk read to him his Sentence trembling; but he heard the reading of it with a great Constancy and a wonderful Tranquillity. Then he spake, and said, *My Lords, I call to witness God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and the Virgin* Mary *my only Advocate, that I have never been a Magician; that I have never committed Sacriledge; that I knew no other Magick than that of the Holy Scripture, which I have always preach'd; and that I have had no other Belief than that of our Mother the Holy Catholick, Apostolick and Roman Church. I renounce the Devil and his Pomps; I own my Saviour, and beseech him, that the Blood of his Cross may be meritorious to me: And you, my Lords, I beseech you, mitigate the Rigour of my*

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Punishment, and put not my Soul in despair. When these Words, accompanied with Tears, had been pronounc'd, *Laubardemont* caus'd the Ladies to withdraw, and all Persons who, out of Curiosity, were in the Palace, and had a very long Conversation with *Grandier*, speaking to him softly in his Ear, whereupon the Patient desir'd Paper; he did not cause it to be given him, but told him aloud, and in a very severe Tone, that there was no other Course to induce the Judges to remit something of the Rigour of the Sentence, but by ingeniously declaring his Complices; whereunto he answer'd, that he had no Complices, and protested his Innocence, as he had always done before. *Houmain* Lieutenant Criminal of *Orleans*, and one of the Reporters, spake to him also in private for that same end, and having receiv'd a like answer, they order'd him to be put to the Torture Ordinary and Extraordinary, which is done at *Loudun*, by putting the Legs of the Patient between two Planks of Wood, which they bind with Cords, between which they put Wedges, and make them enter by the Blows of a Hammer to squeeze the Legs, which are more or less, according to the Number or Bigness of the Wedges that are us'd, which sometimes go so far, that the Bones of the Legs do Crack and fall in Pieces when they are unloos'd; and that those, who have undergone this Torture, die in a little time after. They gave *Grandier* Two Wedges more than they usually did to the most Criminal; but they were not big enough to the liking of the *Monks* and *Laubardemont*, who threatned the Man that had the Care of the Planks and other Instruments of the Torture, to deal with him severely, if he did not bring bigger Wedges; from which he could not excuse himself, but by Swearing that he had no bigger. The

Recollect and Capucins who were present to exorcize the Wedges, the Planks, and the Hammers for the Torture, fearing that the Exorcism had not effect enough, and lest the Devils should have the Power to resist the Blows of a prophane Man, such as the Hangman was, they themselves took the Hammer and tortur'd this unhappy Man; pronouncing against him terrible Imprecations. *Tantæne Animis cælestibus Iræ? Can so much Gall enter the Soul of devout Persons?* Yes; and with just Reason, for a Miscreant, a Sorcerer, a Magician deserves not to be spar'd, when the Glory of God is concern'd, by which one may discern the Degree of his Zeal and Fervour, by the Degree of the Transport he has against the Crime and the Criminals. The Patient Swoon'd many times during the Torture, but they recover'd him out of his Swoon by redoubled Blows; When his Legs were shattered, and that they saw the Marrow come forth, they gave over the Torture, took him out, and laid him on the Pavement. He shew'd in this Condition, an Example of Firmness and Constancy which one cannot sufficiently admire; he let not escape one Word of Repining, nor Complaint, against his Enemies; on the contrary, he utter'd, during his Torture, a proper and fervent Prayer to God; and being thus extended upon the Pavement, he pronounc'd again another, which the Lieutenant of the Provost writ down, whom *Laubardemont* forbid to let it be seen by any Body. This unfortunate Creature, maintain'd always in the midst of the Anguish and Blows which mangled him, that he was neither a Magician, nor Sacrilegious Person, acknowledging, that as a Man, he had abus'd the Pleasures of the Flesh, for which he was Confest, and had done Penance; but he pray'd his Judges, who urg'd him to explain himself

ſelf further, that they would not oblige him to name any Body, nor to ſpecifie the Sins, for which he believ'd he had obtain'd forgiveneſs by his Repentance and his Prayers; which he affirm'd to be ſuch as a true Chriſtian ought to make. He renounc'd again Three or Four times, the Devil and his Pomps, and proteſted, that he never ſaw *Elizabeth Blanchard*, but when ſhe was confronted to him, very far from having known her, after that manner which ſhe had declar'd. He Swoon'd once again after he had been taken from the Torture, and he came not out of that Fainting Fit, but by the help of a little Wine, which the Lieutenant of the Provoſt caus'd ſpeedily to be put into his Mouth; afterwards he was carried into the Council Chamber, and put upon Straw near the Fire, where he demanded an *Auguſtin Fryar* for his Confeſſor, whom he ſaw then before his Eyes; who was alſo denied him, as well as Father *Grillau*, and he was committed, againſt his Will, into the hands of Father *Tranquille*, and Father *Claude*, *Capucins*. When they were withdrawn, they ſeverely forbid thoſe who Guarded him, not to let him ſpeak with any Body, and ſo he was not ſeen during the ſpace of almoſt Four Hours, but Thrice by the Clerk of the Commiſſion, by his Confeſſors, and by *Laubardemont*, who was with him more than Two Hours, to force him to ſign a Writing which he offer'd him; and which he conſtantly refus'd to Sign.

Sect. 59. About Four or Five in the Evening he was taken from the Chamber by his Torturers, who carried him upon a Hand-Barrow; in going, he told the Lieutenant Criminal of *Orleans*, that he had ſaid all, and that there remain'd nothing more upon his Conſcience; *Will you not*, ſays this Judge to him then, *that I pray to GOD for you?*

You will oblige me by doing it, reply'd the Patient to him, *And I beseech you to do it.* He carried a Torch in his Hand, which he kiss'd as he went from the Palace; he look'd upon all the People modestly, and with a settled Countenance, and desiring those whom he knew, that they would pray to GOD for him. As soon as he was come out of the Palace, they read to him his Sentence, and put him in a kind of little Chariot, to bring him before the Church of St. *Peter* in the Market, where *Laubardemont* caus'd him to come down from the Chariot, to the end, that he might put himself upon his Knees, whilst his Sentence was read to him once again; but having quite lost the use of his Legs, he fell flat to the Ground upon his Belly, where he tarried without murmuring or any Word of Displeasure, till they came to lift him up; after which, he desir'd the Assistance of the Prayers of those that were about him; Father *Grillau* came to him at this very time, and embrac'd him, weeping; *Sir, said he to him, Remember that our Lord Jesus Christ ascended to GOD his Father, by Torments and the Cross; you are an able Man, do not ruine your self, I bring you your Mother's Blessing; She and I do pray to GOD that he would be merciful to you, and that he would receive you into his Paradice: Grandier* express'd great Satisfaction at the hearing of these Words, and his Countenance seem'd very chearful; he thank'd the *Cordelier* with much Mildness and Serenity, and conjur'd him to be *as a Son to his Mother; to pray to GOD for him, and to recommend him to the Prayers of all his Fryers, assuring him that he went with Comfort to die Innocent, and that he hop'd that GOD would be merciful to him, and receive him into his Paradice.* That edifying Conversation, was interrupted by the Blows that the Archers

gave

gave to Father *Grillau*, whom they thrust with violence into the Church of St. *Peters* by the Order of their Superiors, and Father Confessors who would not suffer the Standers by to be Witnesses of the Condition, in which the Conscience of the Patient was. He was Conducted then before the Church of the *Ursulines*, and from thence to the Place of St. *Crosse*, upon the Way from which he espied *le Frene Moussaut* and his Wife to whom he said, *That he died their Servant, and that he pray'd them to Pardon him.* When he was arriv'd, he turn'd himself towards the *Fryers* who accompanied him, and requested them to give him the Kiss of Peace. The Lieutenant of the Provost would ask him Pardon; *You have not offended*, said he, *you have done but what your Office oblig'd you to do. Rene Bernier*, Curate of the Town of *Troismoutiers*, pray'd him also to Pardon him, and ask'd him if he would not forgive all his Enemies, even all those who had depos'd against him, and if he would that he should Pray to GOD for him, and to say next Day, a Mass for his Soul? He answer'd him, *He forgave all his Enemies whatsoever, even as he desir'd GOD to Pardon him; that by all means he would oblige him by praying to GOD for him, and by remembring him often at the Altar.* Then the Executionor put upon him a Hoop of Iron, which was fasten'd to a Post, making him to turn his Back towards the Church of St. *Crosse*. The place was fill'd with People, who flock'd in Shoals from all parts to this dismal Spectacle, and came thither, not only from all the Provinces of the Kingdom, but also from foreign Countries. The place appointed for the Execution, was at last so crouded, that those who where to assist there could not put themselves in order; whatsoever endeavours the Archers us'd to make the People retire with

Blows

Blows of their Halbert-ſtaves, they could not effect it; and leſs yet to drive away a Flock of Pigeons, which came flying round the Pile of Wood, without being Frighted by the Halberts, with which they were commanded to ſtrike in the Air, to drive them away, or by the noiſe that the Spectators made in ſeeing them return many times. The Friends of the Poſſeſſion cried out, that it was a Troop of Devils, who came to attempt the Reſcuing of the Magician, and were much troubled to abandon him. Others ſaid, that theſe innocent Doves came, for want of Men, to give Teſtimony to the Innocence of the Sufferer. All that one can affirm here, is, that all the Facts, or at leaſt the principal of them, are generally found in all the Relations that have been kept of them, That moſt of the People of *Loudun* (who are this Day alive) have been inform'd of it by their Parents, who had been preſent, and that there remain yet ſome living in that and Foreign Country's, particularly here in *England*, who can atteſt it, by having been Witneſſes thereof.

Sect. 60. The Fathers exorcis'd the Air and the Wood, and ask'd the Patient afterwards, *if he would not confeſs*? to whom he reply'd, *That he had nothing more to ſay, and that he hop'd to be this Day with his GOD.* The Clerk then read to him his Sentence for the Fourth time, and ask'd him if he perſiſted in what he had ſaid upon the Rack? He anſwer'd, *That he perſiſted therein, That he had nothing more to ſay, and that all that he had ſaid was true.* Whereupon one of the Monks told the Clerk, that he made him ſpeak too much. The Lieutenant of the Provoſt had promis'd two things in their preſence; the firſt, That he ſhould have ſome time to ſpeak to the People; the Second, That he ſhould be ſtrangled before the kindling of the

the Fire. But to hinder the performance of either of these Promises, these are the Courses which the Exorcists took: When they perceiv'd that he was dispos'd to speak to the People, they cast so great a quantity of Holy-Water in his Face, that he was thereby utterly confounded, and seeing that he open'd his Mouth a Second time, there was one who went to Kiss him, to stop his Words; he understood the Design, and said to him, *There is a Kiss of* Judas. Upon which, their Spite rose to so high a point, that they hit him many times in the Face with an Iron Crucifix, which they offer'd to him, as if they had been willing to make him Kiss it; which oblig'd him to content himself, in desiring only a *Salve Regina*, and one *Ava Maria*, &c. and to commend himself to GOD, and to the Holy Virgin, pronouncing these last Words with joyn'd Hands and Eyes lifted up to Heaven. The Exorcists return'd to their Office, and ask'd him once again, if he would not confess? *My Fathers* (answer'd he) *I have said all, I have said all; I hope in GOD, and in his Mercy.*

Sect. 61. These good Fathers, to hinder his being strangled, according to the second Promise the Lieutenant of the Provost had made him, had themselves knotted the Rope, when it had been put into the Hands of the Executioner, who providing to put Fire to the Wood-Pile; the Patient cry'd out Two or Three times, *Is this what I was Promis'd?* And saying these Words, he himself lifted up the Rope and fitted it. But Father *Lactance* took presently a Wisp of Straw, and having lighted it with a Torch, he put it to his Face, saying, *Wilt thou not confess wretched Man, and renounce the Devil? 'Tis time, thou hast but a Moment to live. I know not the Devil,* reply'd Grandier, *I renounce him and all his Pomps; and I*

pray GOD to have Mercy on me. Then, without waiting for the Order of the Lieutenant of the Provost, this Monk taking upon him publickly the Office of the Hang-man, put Fire to the Pile, just before the Eyes of the Sufferer; who seeing that Cruelty and Unfaithfulness, cry'd out again, *Ah! Where is Charity Father* Lactance? *this is not what was promis'd me. There is a GOD in Heaven who will Judge thee and me; I Summon thee to appear before Him, within a Month.* Then addressing himself to GOD, he utter'd these Words, *Deus meus, ad te Vigilo, miserere mei Deus.* Then the Capucine began again, to throw all the Holy-Water in his Face which they had in their Holy Water-Pots, to prevent these last Words being heard by the People, and their being edified by them. At last, they said, aloud to the Executioner, that he should strangle him, which 'twas impossible for him to do, because the Rope was knotted; and that he was stop'd by the increasing of the Flame, into which the Sufferer fell, and was burnt alive.

Sect. 62. Although the Commissary and the Judges of *Grandier* have kept secret, as much as it has been possible, all that they have done against him, and that the greatest part of their Proceedings, and the Papers, on which they have grounded his Condemnation, have been conceal'd from the Publick, whose Examination and Decision they dreaded; Nevertheless some inquisitive Persons, and who were concern'd for this unhappy Priest, obtain'd of one of the Judges the Copy of the Extract of the Proofs which were in his Process. As it is the Foundation of the terrible Sentence which was given against him, and cruelly executed upon his Person, we have thought it our duty to insert it here with some Reflections, to lay open the weakness and injustice thereof.

The

The Extract of the Proofs which are in the Process against *Grandier*.

Sect. 63. AS *the Possession of the* Ursuline *Nuns is the Foundation of all the Proceeding of Monsieur* de Laubardemont, *and the Subject of the Process which has been made against the Parson of* Loudun, *it has been necessary to establish the truth by such Testimonies thereof, as could be desir'd in that Matter.*

Certainly the Possession is a very ruinous Foundation, and suppose that it might have been true, it does not follow yet that *Grandier* was the Author thereof; and though he had been the Author at first, there was no likelihood, that after he had been nam'd in the two first Possessions, to the great danger of his Honour, and his Life, he would have procur'd a Third Possession, without being mov'd thereto by any Hope of pleasure, or by any Passion of Covetousness, or of Love, Hatred, or Envy, against Persons whom he knew not, and whom he had never seen.

Sect. 64. *To that end, the Bishop of* Poictiers, *after having assisted at most of the Exorcisms, and sign'd the Verbal Processes which had been made, declar'd by his Sentence or Decree of the Fourteenth of the Month of* August, *that he judg'd the said Nuns to be possess'd, and as such, and Subjects to his Jurisdiction, he had given them Persons able to exorcise them. This Opinion has been follow'd by four Doctors of the* Sorbonn, *but with this difference, that the Motive of the Bishop of* Poictiers, *in the Judgment which he has made of the Persons possessed, has been no other than the knowledge he himself has had of all that which past; whereas the Doctors of the* Sorbonn, *having not been present there, were not able to decide that Question, but upon the credit of those who made them the Report,* viz. *That the said*

Nuns

Nuns had been rais'd from the ground two Foot high, and that being laid at length, without the help of Feet or Hands, and without bending the Body they had been lifted up. The Four Exorcists, who are Father Lactance *Recollect, the Fathers* Elizee *and* Tranquille *Capucins, with a Carmelite, have also given their attestation. Father* Ronceau *Rector of the Jesuits, the Prior of the* Jacobites *of* Thouars, *and* Revol, *Doctor of the* Sorbonn, *have entertain'd the People in the Pulpit concerning the Truth thereof. The Physicians of* Poictiers, Niort, Fontenai, Loudun, Thouars, Chinon, Mirebeau, *and* Fontevraut, *after having observ'd the Motions and Agitations of these Maids, accounted them supernatural, and to proceed from a cause in which the subtilty of their Art has not been able to know any Thing but the effects.*

You have seen in this History what has been the Sincerity and Disposition of the Bishop of *Poictiers*, and what Exorcists and Deputies he had sent. One cannot also suffer to pass for a proof the Boldness that some Ecclesiasticks, and some Monks have had to entertain the People in the Pulpits concerning the Truth of the Possession. As for the Opinions of the Doctors of the *Sorbonn*, they have been given upon Facts absolutely false and suppos'd; that the Exorcists have not so much as dar'd to produce in any of their writings, nor *Laubardemont* to insert them in any of his Verbal Processes, as it appear'd in the Declaration of the Sentence of Death, wherein the Verbal Processes of the Vomitings and other Facts are mention'd, but there's no mention made of the Verbal Process of the Facts propos'd to the Doctors of the *Sorbonn*. The Testimonies of the Physicians were so exceptionable as well as their Persons, and they were drawn up in a manner so little conclusive, that 'twas impossible not to believe that the Possession was already esta-

blish'd

bliſh'd and verified in the Minds of the Judges, before they had examin'd theſe kinds of Proofs. And though it be found in that Article of the Extract, *&c.* That there were alſo Phyſicians of *Poictiers*, *Niort*, and *Fontenai*, who had given their Atteſtation, that was in a manner different from the others, and not that they had been nam'd and appointed to this purpoſe; But it was becauſe amongſt the great number of People which came to ſee the Effects of the Poſſeſſion, there were many whom the Exorciſts knew themſelves, either by the Relation they had with other Convents, from whom they receiv'd intelligence; they choſe Phyſicians and other Perſons diſtinguiſh'd by their Characters, to ſound them, and to penerate their Opinion, and when they found them favourable to the Poſſeſſion, whether by credulity, or for want of information, or by complaiſance with them who ſupported the Party, they fail'd not to require their Atteſtations, and they mention'd only thoſe of the Towns of *Niort*, *Fontenai*, and *Poictiers*, who gave their Opinion, though there were but ſome of the Phyſicians of thoſe Towns, and eſpecially of that of *Poitiers*, who were no ways perſuaded of the Poſſeſſion. But beſides that, 'tis certain that there came to *Loudun* more than a Hundred Phyſicians of different Towns, adjoyning and remote, who would not give the like Atteſtations, though the moſt part were much ſollicited; on the contrary, there have been ſome who have left Memorials againſt the Poſſeſſion.

Sect. 65. ' So that after Teſtimonies ſo Authen-
' tick, without examining whether the Poſſeſſions
' of evil Spirits, are the Effects of the abſolute
' Power of GOD alone, or whether the Magici-
' cians, by the Covenants they made with the De-
' vils, and by the Permiſſion which GOD gives
' them,

'them, may be accounted Authors; ſeeing that
'the moſt knowing Perſons doubt not of the Firſt
'of theſe Things; and that the Second is not
'without Example. It remains to ſee, if by the
'Proofs which are in the Proceſs, there be room
'to believe, that he, who has been condemn'd,
'was realy guilty of the Crimes, of which he has
'been convicted. Now theſe Proofs are of Two
'Sorts; the Firſt, which conſiſt in the Depoſitions
'of the Witneſſes, are ordinary, and ſubject to the
'Reproaches and Exceptions of Fact and Right;
'the others, which are drawn from the Verbal Pro-
'ceſs of the Exorciſts, and from the Viſits made
'in Conſequence thereof, upon the Perſon of the
'Accuſed, are extraordinary, as well as the Matter
'in Queſtion, to which they are all Particular,
'and much more certain than the former; becauſe
'of the Notoriety of the Fact, which evidenceth
'to us the Truth that we ſeek in ſenſible Things.
'As for the Proof by Witneſſes, it reſults from
'Two Informations; the Firſt is compos'd of
'Sixty Witneſſes not ſufficiently excepted againſt,
'who depos'd concerning the Adulteries, Inceſts,
'Sacriledges, and other Impieties committed by
'the Perſon accus'd, even in the moſt ſecret
'Places of his Church, as in the Veſtry, near the
'Holy Sacrament; upon all Days, at all Hours,
'and all Times; in a Manner, that the Church,
'of which he was Parſon, and where, by his Ex-
'ample, he ought to raiſe in the hearts of his Pa-
'riſhoners a Love for Virtue, he made thereof
'a Place of Pleaſure, and an open Baudy-
'Houſe to all his Concubines. It is true, that
'by the Sentence of the Preſidial of *Poitiers*, he had
'been remitted till new Orders ſhould have been
'given upon ſome Matters; but beſides that that
'Sentence was not definitive, it appear'd that he
'had

'had relaps'd into a Number of the same Crimes, 'which render'd him yet far more culpable. A-'mongst the Witnesses of this Accusation, there 'were Five very considerable, *viz.* Three Wo-'men; the First whereof said, that one Day, after 'she had receiv'd the Communion from the Person 'accus'd, who earnestly look'd upon her during 'that Action, she was instantly seiz'd with a vio-'lent Love-Passion for him, which began with a 'little Shivering through all the Parts of her Bo-'dy: The other said, that having been stop'd by 'him in the Street, he press'd her Hand, and that 'immediately she was seiz'd with a vehement Pas-'sion for him: The Third said, that after she had 'seen him at the Door of the Church of the *Car-'melites*, where he enter'd with the Procession, 'she felt very great Commotions, and had such 'Inclinations, that she willingly desir'd to lie with 'him, although before that Moment, in which, 'they were look'd upon by him, and were seiz'd 'with his Love, they never had a particular In-'clination for him; being otherwise very Virtuous 'and of a very good Reputation.

'Tis a strange Thing to report, and revive again the same Accusations of which *Grandier* had been sent away absolv'd, and the same Testimonies, which had been found insufficient by the Sentences of the Judges Ecclesiastical and Secular, and to make them one Part of the ground of a Sentence of Death. The same thing may be said, to see him boldly accus'd of relapsing into the same Crimes of Adultery, Incest, Sacriledge, and other Impieties, and the Facts alledg'd in the Depositions of these Three Women, who notwithstanding their good Reputation, and their pretended former Virtue, which then abandon'd them, might be wounded by the only Charms of *Grandier*'s good Meen, with-

out the Intervention of any other Enchantment, than that of Nature or rather Concupiscence: Otherwise, honest Women were much to be pitied, if *Magicians* could make them in Love, and inspire into them a Desire to lie with them, as often as it pleas'd those wicked Villains to look on them; or that they should touch them only with their Hand. But what Relation is there between these Accusations of Sacrileges and Incests, and the Sentence for the Death of *Grandier*, which was not given upon the Conviction of these Crimes? It contains not one single Word, 'tis only for the Crime of Magick, that this unhappy Man was condemn'd. Why then are all these pretended Crimes heap'd together? The greatest whereof, one has seen that he has not been guilty of; if this were not to confound the Judgment of the Reader, and to surprize him by these Appearances. Ought this to be the Design of a Judge, who Reports the Proofs upon which an accus'd Person has been condemn'd? And are they not rather the last Endeavours of a cruel, unjust, and bloodily persecuting Party.

Sect. 66. 'The Two others are an Advocate 'and a Mason, the first whereof depos'd that he saw 'the Person accus'd read the Books of *Agrippa*. 'The other being at work to repair his Study, he 'saw a Book upon the Table open'd at the Place 'of a Chapter, which treated of the Means to make 'Women in Love. It is true, that the first ex'plain'd himself in some manner at the Confronta'tion, and said, that he believ'd that the Book of '*Agrippa* which he had mention'd in his Depositi'on, was that, *de Vanitate Scientiarum*. But the Ex'plication is very much suspected, because the Ad'vocate had withdrawn himself from *Loudun*, and 'could not undergo the Controntation, till after 'he had been compell'd.

'Twould

'Twould be great pity if all the Perſons who have read Books of Magick, only to know them, without an Intention to make uſe of them, ſhould become Magicians; 'Tis alſo a very forc'd Way of Arguing, to ſay, that the Explication of the Advocate was to be ſuſpected, becauſe he went aſide for fear of undergoing a Confrontation. It is much more natural to conclude [as it was the Truth] that having ſome Remorſe for having given a Teſtimony ſo little ſincere, and ſo maliciouſly intangl'd, and fearing neverthelesſ, the Authority of *Laubardemont*, if he dar'd to explain himſelf, he fled away, and could not reſolve to be of their Party; but that in the End, his Remorſes, and a return of Virtue, had determin'd him to give Glory to the Truth. The Maſon was a poor Raſcal, who had been hir'd not to ſay any thing; for his Teſtimony ſignified nothing. One might add, That at making the Inventory of the Cloſet of *Grandier*, the Commiſſary found there no Book of Magick, and that the Devils, being interrogated upon that Point, anſwer'd nothing but Lies, which were verified to be ſuch: However, theſe are the Five moſt conſiderable Depoſitions, which have caus'd a Parſon to be condemn'd to be burnt; What can one think of the other Teſtimonies which they have not dar'd to produce?

Sect. 67. ' The Second Information, contains ' the Depoſition of Fourteen *Nuns*, whereof there ' has been Eight poſſeſſed, and Six Seculars, who have ' been ſaid alſo to be poſſeſs'd. It would be impoſ-' ſible to report, in brief, that which is contain'd ' in all theſe Depoſitions, becauſe there is not a ' Word which deſerves not Conſideration. 'Tis ' only to be obſerv'd, that all theſe *Nuns*, as well ' thoſe that were free, as thoſe that were moleſted, ' have had a very diſorder'd Love for the Perſon ac-

 cus'd;

'cus'd; they have seen him in the Convent Day 'and Night, to Sollicite them in Matters of Love, 'during the space of Four Months. They have 'been disturb'd by a Number of Visions, of which 'they said they had perfect Knowledge, because 'the greatest Part of these Accidents happen'd 'to them when they were up, and at their Prayers. 'They said moreover, they had been struck by 'something which was not known by them, and 'which left Marks so visible upon their Bodies, that 'the Physicians and Surgeons have been able to see 'them easily, and to make the Report thereof; 'that all these disorders which have happen'd to 'them, have had their Beginning with the Appa-'rition of one, nam'd the *Prior Moussaut*, who had 'been heretofore their Confessor; then by a Nose-'gay of Roses which the Mother *Prioress* found on 'the middle of the Stairs, and Three Black Thorns, 'which were thrust into the Hand of the said *Pri-'oress* one Evening after Prayers. They said also, 'that the Mother *Prioress* imagin'd one Day, that 'there were Apples in her Chamber, the Kernel 'whereof she had a Mind to eat; whereupon, at 'that Instant, as well as after, having smelt the 'Roses, and receiv'd the Three Black Thorns in-'to her Hand, she was troubled after such a Man-'ner, that she spoke of nothing but of *Grandier*, 'whom she declar'd to be the Object of all her Af-'fections, and whom, as well as all the other *Nuns*, 'she has seen to approach her Bed, as she has told 'him, when she has been confronted to him, ha-'ving maintain'd to his Face, as well as Seven or 'Eight others, that 'twas he himself who was of-'ten present to them. Where it must not be for-'got, that all these *Nuns*, in making their Deposi-'tions, at the pronouncing of the Word *Grandier*, 'were seiz'd with Troubles and Convulsions, at the

'Con-

'Confrontations where the Physicians have been
'present, to observe all that past which was re-
'markable, they were violently disturb'd, as well
'as all the other Seculars, who said also, they were
'passionately in Love with the Person accus'd.

These *Nuns* could no longer forbear to give this Testimony against *Grandier*, and the matter was come to that Point, that it was necessary, that either he must be declar'd a Magician, or that they must be declar'd guilty of the most infamous and blackest of all Cheats: So they were Witnesses in their own Cause. But these Declarations which they made, these pretended Troubles and Commotions which attended them, these Marks which they shew'd to their Physicians. Are these things so difficult to counterfeit? And is it very extraordinary and nearly approaching to an immediate Operation of the Devil, to see Women promote and defend these Extravagances and ridiculous Visions? How have they been able to know in their Convent, a Man whom they had never seen, when he was transported thither by pretended Magical Operations, and when they nam'd him for the certain Author of that Sorcery? And how should he be in Love with them, without having ever seen them? Besides, was it likely that his Magical Power had not so much Efficacy upon the *Nuns*, as upon the Seculars? Such were the Three Women who have depos'd as above, that they had had so great a Desire to lye with him; for if this Desire had also possess'd the *Nuns*, they might easily have satisfied themselves, seeing that this Lover was so often near them and in their Chambers.

Sect. 68. 'Now amongst all the Accidents
'wherewith these good *Nuns* have been afflicted,
'I find none more strange, than that which is be-
'fallen to the Mother *Prioress*, and to the Sister

'*Claire de Sazilli*. The first, next Day after she
'had made her Depositions, and whilst the *Sieur de*
'*Laubardemont* took that of another *Nun*, stripp'd
'her self to her Shift, Bare-headed, and a Halter
'about her Neck, and a Wax-Candle in her Hand,
'and continued in that Posture the space of Two
'Hours, in the middle of the Court, where it
'rain'd very fast; and when the Parlour Door
'was open, she threw her self in, and fell upon
'her Knees before the *Sieur de Laubardemont*, de-
'claring to him, that she came to make Satisfacti-
'on for the Offence she had commited, in accusing
'the innocent *Grandier*; then being retir'd, she
'tied the Halter to a Tree in the Garden, where
'she had hang'd her self, if the other *Nuns* had
'not ran to her.

That Action of the Superiour had far more Conformity to the Action of a Person constrain'd by the Resentment of her Crimes, and the Remorses of her Conscience, than to a diabolical Operation; and when the Devil had in Effect acted therein, in the Sense they would have it understood; Wherefore should he rather have spoken the Truth, when he accus'd *Grandier* of being a Magician, than when he confess'd that he was innocent? What way is there to know the Truth in these two Contradictory Propositions? What was the Character of Truth, which was found in one rather than in the other? All that one can reasonably inferr is this, that the Suggestion of the Devil did assuredly cause the *Nun* to speak, when she accus'd her Parson; and that the fear of the Judgments of GOD drew her to confess what she did against her self.

Sect. 69. 'And the Second was so tempted to
'lie with her great Friend, whom she declar'd to
'be the said *Grandier*, that one Day coming to re-

'ceive the Holy Sacrament, ſhe aroſe on a ſuddain 'and went up into her Chamber, whether having 'been follow'd by ſome of her Siſters, ſhe was 'ſeen with a Crucifix in her Hand, wherewith ſhe 'prepar'd her ſelf to —— Modeſty permits not to mention the Obſcenity of this Paſſage.

'Tis not to be doubted, that this infamous Action of the Siſter *Claire* had been well concerted; and that 'twas reſolv'd they ſhould follow her, to find her in this horrible Occupation, which conſider'd in it ſelf, had nothing in it, but what might very naturally and eaſily be perform'd, and had no need of the Power and immediate Efforts of the Devil; ſo that 'twas not on that Account that it could paſs for a Mark of Poſſeſſion, but 'twas on that of Shame and natural Modeſty, that they pretended that a Maid and a *Nun* could not have ſufficiently loſt it to arrive to ſuch an Exceſs, if there had not been a Devil which had excited and tranſported her. This Argument is wonderfully concluding, and the Conſequence thereof is very edifying; That when the Crime is ſo great that it paſſes all imaginable bounds, one muſt believe, that the Perſon, that has committed it, cannot be guilty; and that it muſt needs be by the Sorcery, Suggeſtion, or the Operation of another, that ſhe had been induc'd to commit it; and that upon the Declaration ſhe ſhall make, he ought to be burnt uppon whom ſhe cauſeth the Suſpicion to fall, and thereby clear her ſelf. It muſt be further obſerv'd, that they pretended by theſe extraordinary Actions, on the behalf of Morality, to make amends for the deficiency of proving the Poſſeſſion by ſupernatural Actions, which were not in the Power of Man to produce, as they had produced others.

Sect. 70. 'And to that End, It is alſo conſiderable, that *Grandier* had endeavour'd after the de-

'ceaſe, of the ſaid *Prior Mouſſaut* to be Confeſſor of 'the *Nuns*, and that one of his moſt intimate Friends 'had a great Quarrel with the Superior about it.

All thoſe who were not engag'd in the Cabal of the Poſſeſſion have believ'd this Matter to be falſe; but ſuppoſe that it was true, doth it deſerve to be put amongſt thoſe Reaſons which have caus'd a Man to be condemn'd to be burnt?

Sect. 71. 'As for the Seculars, the Depoſition of '*Elizabeth Blanchard* follow'd, and being confirm'd 'by that of *Suſanna Hammon*, is not one of the leaſt 'conſiderable: For ſhe depos'd to have been car'nally known by the Perſon accus'd, who, one Day 'after he had lain with her, told her that if ſhe wou'd 'go to the Sabat (*i. e.* Conventicle of the Witches) 'he would make her Princeſs of the Magicians.

Could one yet have a Regard for that extravagant and ſhameful Depoſition of the Perſons pretended to be poſſeſs'd, who were in the ſame Caſe as the *Nuns*, ſeeing that the Juſtification of *Grandier* would alſo have imported their Condemnation? But this Promiſe, to make *Blanchard* Princeſs of Magicians, and the impudence of her Accuſation, do not they make one aſham'd? Surely the Devils have had very little Reſpect for ſo Powerful a Lord of the Sabat, who could make Princeſſes; they have never been wanting upon every Occaſion, to accuſe him, and to have brought him themſelves to a ſhameful End.

Sect. 72. 'This is that which concerns the 'Proof by Witneſſes, which conſiſts in theſe Two 'Informations only, to which, by a ſingle Paper, 'was added, the Depoſition of the *Sieur Barre*, Cu'rat of *Chinon*, who depos'd, amongſt other Things, 'that one Day, having been ſent for, to exorcize 'the ſaid *Nuns*, and knowing that the Devil, who 'tormented the Mother *Prioreſs*, was call'd *Aſtarot*,

'he

'he commanded him to go out; and for a Sign of 'his going out, to ſtrike him, whom he ſaid, was 'declar'd to be the Author of the Sorcery, who 'was the ſaid *Grandier*, which *Aſtarot* promis'd 'him; and for certain, in the Time that he was 'to perform this Promiſe, *Grandier* abſented from 'the Company, and having caus'd himſelf to be ex-'cus'd upon the Paper for pricking down the ab-'ſent Canons of St. *Croſſe*, by reaſon of his Sick-'neſs, That Word Sickneſs had been blotted out 'by his Hand, ſo that it appear'd by the Report 'of the ſaid Paper; and when upon the Rack, they 'queſtion'd him upon the Occaſion of his Abſence, 'he ſeem'd much confounded, and knew not what 'to anſwer; and many times chang'd Colour, al-'though in all the other Proceedings he had ſhew'd 'himſelf very reſolute.

So the Teſtimony of *Aſtarot*, and that of *Barre*, whoſe Way of Acting we have ſeen in this Affair, and who was at laſt condemn'd, and puniſh'd, as Author of the pretended Poſſeſſion at *Chinon*, were made uſe of as Motives in the Condemnation of *Grandier*. But beſides, the Animoſity of this Hypocrite and his Partiality, which had been viſible, ought to have hindred his being receiv'd for a Witneſs; wherefore, this Act was produc'd out of Seaſon, not having been within the Time wherein the Thing ſhould have paſs'd, ſeeing that the Verbal Proceſſes of that Time do not give Credit to it. That if *Grandier* was found to be abſent at the Time obſerv'd by *Barre*, it was becauſe he had well examin'd the Paper for pricking down the Names, to fix the Contrivance juſt in the Time it ſhould have been. Is it not alſo an extraordinary Piece of Artifice in this Depoſition, to ſay, that razing out of the Word Sickneſs, was by the Hand of *Grandier*? Since what time was it, that the Hand of a Man was known by

a very

a very ſmall Razure? *Grandier* had no more to do, than to maintain, that 'twas done by the Hand of *Barre*, or *Mignon*, and he would have apparently affirm'd the Truth, for 'twas very unlikely that he could gain any Advantage by the ſtriking out of the Word Sickneſs; it was more for his Purpoſe, that the Word ſhould ſtand to evidence the Cauſe of his Abſence, which could not have any other likely Pretence ſo probable as that. But whence did it happen, that the Devil did not ſtrike him on the Back in Obedience to the Orders of *Barre?* And that the Bp. who ought not leſs to be obey'd, did not command him to wound this Magician in the Forehead, when he deſir'd it, for this Action had been altogether convincing, and exempted from all Suſpition, as may be ſeen in the Relation of the 23*d.* of *June*, contain'd in this Hiſtory. Or how comes it, that if *Barre* could, by his Exorciſms, ſo eaſily drive out the Devils, he did not make uſe of that Power to deliver the *Nuns* ſo cruelly tormented? That if the Perſon accus'd has appear'd confounded at the Circumſtance of the pricking down; 'tis without doubt, that hearing this Depoſition, he endeavour'd to recall the Ideas of what paſs'd at the Time when they mention'd to him, which was now long ſince, and that they qualified this Recollection, by the Name of Confuſion.

Sect. 73. *As for the extraordinary Proofs, they conconſiſt in Two particular Points; The Firſt is the Experiment of the Marks, which having been declar'd by* Aſmodee, *who then poſſeſſed the Superior, together with the Places where they were, they caus'd the Perſon accus'd to be ſearch'd by Eight Phyſicians, who have given their Report, by which they declare, that amongſt all the Marks found upon his Perſon, thoſe of his Shoulder and Privy Parts are ſuſpected by them, becauſe that a Needle having been thruſt into the Firſt, the thickneſs of an Inch,* the

the Senſe of Feeling there was dull, and not like to that which the accuſed Perſon ſhew'd to have, when they prob'd into the other Parts; and that from the one and the other there iſſued no Blood when the Needle was drawn out. It is true, that Aſmodee *declar'd, that the Perſon accus'd was mark'd in Five Places; but becauſe of the Difficulty in diſcovering them, there were found but Two, which were ſuſpected by the ſaid Phyſicians.*

This is a Touch-ſtone to diſcover the Sincerity of this Body of Phſiycians and Judges who make ſuch a Report, one of the principal Subjects of a Sentence of Condemnation to the utmoſt Puniſhment. They found but theſe Two natural Spots upon *Grandier*'s Body, the others were not ſeen, becauſe, ſay they, of the Difficulty there was to diſcover them; 'tis rather, becauſe there were none, for theſe ſo quick-ſighted Eyes, which had well perceiv'd the Two Firſt Spots, might alſo as readily have diſcover'd the Three Others. Ought one to bring ſuch Proofs and ſuch Concluſions amongſt thoſe which have ſerv'd to cauſe a Man to be condemn'd to the Fire? This is to pretend, that Authority ought to impoſe upon humane Reaſon. But there remains yet ſome Shaddow of Modeſty in this Company of Phyſicians; they dar'd not to call theſe Marks, Diabolical and Supernatural, they only declare'd that they are ſuſpicious; they durſt not ſay that they were altogether inſenſible, they only reported that the Senſe of Feeling there was dull; but they did not expreſs this, which Men of Experience cannot but know, that 'tis not a Thing rare or extraordinary, that there may be ſome Part in the Body, where the Senſe of Feeling is not ſo quick as in others, and eſpecially thoſe which are not of ordinary Conformation; ſuch as are the Parts which are mark'd with Moles, or thoſe which have been affected by ſome Diſtempers. *Fourneau*, who Shav'd

the

the Patient on the Day of his Suffering, testified that these Moles were natural and very sensible; and if there came out no Blood, that Singularity ought to be ascrib'd to *Mannouri* the Surgeon, the Brother-in-law of one of the Possessed, and Nephew of *Silli*, who us'd a Probe round at one End, and sharp at the other, which he could not but make the Patient feel very grievously every time he pleas'd.

Sect. 74. *The Second Proof is the* Scar *on the Thumb of his Right Hand. For the* 25th. *of the Month of* April, *the same* Asmodee *having mention'd a* Pact *of a little Bit of Paper stain'd with some drops of Blood, he declar'd, after much Resistance, that the Blood which appear'd upon this Paper, issued from the Thumb of his Master's Right Hand; which the Sieur* Laubardemont *having heard, he went forthwith to the Prison with Physicians, whom after having caus'd to take Notice of a little Cut, which was found in the very Place that the Devil had declar'd, he interrogated* Grandier *upon the Cause of the said Hurt, who answered him, that he had not been aware of it, and had not taken Notice of it, and that it was likely to be done by sticking in some Pin, not remembring how it should have happen'd otherwise. Nevertheless, the Physicians, after the said Visit, the* 27th. *of the same Month, made their Report, wherein they judg'd that the hurt was made by a Knife or some other sharp Instrument; and that there came out Blood, of which the Person accus'd having Notice by the reading to him the Deposition, whereas the first time he testified he had no knowledge of that Cut, he recall'd what he had exprest before, and said, that since their last Visit, he had recollected his Memory, and that he did remember that one of his Guards had given him a Knife, by which he made the said Hurt, by cutting a piece of Bread, Two Hours before the said* Laubardemont *enter'd the Prison; and another time he said, that the Cut was made the Day before, wherein there is a Contradiction; and besides, us'd all his Endeavours to make the said* Laubardemont *believe, that there came forth no Blood, because he had well taken Notice of it; and that the Report of the said Physicians was false in that Respect. After which, the* 30th *of the said Month, the said Sieur* de Laubardemont, *having again reiterated his Interrogatories upon the same Subject, he answer'd, that he believ'd that the said Cut was made the Day before the said Sieur* de Laubardemont *went into the Prison, and that there had come out no Blood at it.*

The Declaration of a Devil, who came to bring a Pact of Paper stain'd with Blood, and the Testimony of the Physicians, who had altogether consulted in Form, to know, *If a little Scar which was upon the Thumb of* Grandier, *was a Cut or a small Scratch; if it had been made with a Knife, Pin, or otherwise;* and the Verbal Processes of *Laubardemont*, which thus far had any Shadow of Proof against *Grandier*, endeavour'd to involve

him in ſome little Contradictions, upon a Fact which in it ſelf was the greateſt trifle in the World; all this not amounting to valuable Proofs, they relie much in this particular, upon the Aſtoniſhment of the Perſon accus'd, and upon the varying of his Anſwers. The Surprize, or rather the Reflection, which they call'd a Surprize, is upon this Occaſion very natural to a Perſon accus'd of a Capital Crime, to whom they came upon a ſuddain to put Objections and Queſtions; he could not do leſs than recollect himſelf and reflect. The Depth of the Buſineſs was important enough, and might concern him enough to produce that Effect: But as the Circumſtance, upon which they interrogated him, was in it ſelf but a Trifle, and a little Accident which might really happen, and eſpecially in that Condition his Mind was in at that Time, and the Wound having not drawn any Blood, as he always ſtrongly affirm'd, 'tis no wonder that he declar'd on a ſuddain, that he knew not how it came; and that afterwards having recollected his Memory, he might believe he had ſome Repreſentation of the Manner how the Thing happen'd; and that after he had again corrected what he had declar'd, by ſome more diſtinct Idea which was come into his Mind, ſeeing that ſuch an Accident could not have made any ſtrong Impreſſion upon his Imagination, if he had been in a quiet Condition. On the other ſide, his Guards, and *la Bontems* his *Hoſteſs*, who were continually obſerving him, and who had undertaken to inform them of the leaſt Circumſtances that happen'd concerning his Perſon, had not fail'd to acquaint *Aſmodee* with this little Accident, which they had better perceiv'd than the Patient himſelf, who had his Mind fill'd with other Matters.

Sect. 75. 'This is the beſt Part of the Proofs, upon which 'there interven'd the Sentence of the 18*th*. of *Auguſt* laſt, in 'Execution whereof, the Perſon condemn'd, having been put 'to the Torture, has own'd the Book made by him againſt the 'Celibacy of Prieſts, out of a Deſign to quiet the Mind of a 'Maid, whom he had convers'd with for Seven Years; and of 'which Book, if he had not acknowledg'd it, there had been 'Proofs at the Trial.

That Book contain'd nothing which had Relation to Magick, it was very well written, according to the Teſtimony of a Phyſician who had ſeen it, and whoſe Opinion is ſet down in the *French* Mercury of that Time; If then that Writing had been pertinent to the Condemnation of *Grandier*, it ought not to have caus'd him to be ſentenc'd to the Fire. His Declaration concerning that Book, which he had made an Occaſion of a Marriage of Conſcience between him and a Maid, has alſo been confirm'd by the ſame Phyſician, who ſaid he had ſeen at the End of it, this Diſtich.

If

If that his Doctrine you aright conceive,
Great quiet soon your Conscience will receive.

Sect. 76. ‘ 'Tis also very certain, whatever has been said to ‘ the contrary, that the Manner wherewith the Person accus'd ‘ receiv'd the News of his Death, is a Confirmation of his ‘ wicked Life. For in the First Place, he never took Notice ‘ of the Crucifix when it was presented to him; after the pro‑ ‘ nouncing of his Sentence, he spake of nothing but the miti‑ ‘ gating of the Rigour of his Punishment.

Are not these Two fine Proofs of Magick?

Sect. 77. ‘ He refus'd the Prayers which were offer'd him.

This Matter is false, and is reported only by Authors who have writ in Favour of the Possession; whereas a great Number of Relations of very worthy Persons do mention, that he accepted of the Prayers of all those who offer'd them; as may be seen in the Account we have given of his Death.

Sect. 78. ‘ And he did many other Actions which testified ‘ sufficiently his Impenitence.

What were these Actions? And how could a Judge, who was not partial, bring in all those last Actions, as if they had been Proofs at his Trial? Have these subsequent Actions been Proofs to ground the foregoing Sentence upon? This is an Accumulation of all that, which for want of sufficient Proofs, they have been able to collect, to blacken and render odious the Victim which they have unjustly sacrific'd.

Sect. 79. ‘ All that which could be excepted against, in the ‘ Instruction of the Process, is, that the Surgeon, who assisted ‘ at the Visits, was a Kinsman of one, nam'd *de Silli*, who, ‘ they say, has been one of the Instruments of the Destructi‑ ‘ on of *Grandier*; but he was only as a Witness, and there are ‘ Eight Physicians unsuspected, who assisted there, who have ‘ given their Report.

He who manag'd the Probe was but a Witness, and those who assisted, and were presented at the Action, were Agents. So that to assist, is to be an Agent; and to act, is only to assist. By such an Inversion of Reason, one may easily burn all Mankind. It may be seen by this, of what People all that Body of Physicians was compos'd, and what Regard one ought to have for their Testimonies, as well as for the Proceedings of *Laubardemont* and the other Commissaries, to whom there was Complaint made of the Incapacity and Partiality of *Mannouri*, in demanding a new Visit; to which these Judges having not consented, they are notwithstanding forc'd to own, that there is something to be said against it.

Sect, 80. ‘ It may be said further, that the Apothecary, who ‘ prepar'd the Drugs to Purge and Physick the said *Nuns*, du-

ring

'ring the time they were sequester'd, was much suspected by '*Grandier*, because he had had a Suit with one of his Confi- 'dents. But to that may be reply'd, that the Drugs were 'view'd by the Physicians who appointed them; and that the 'Composition was made in their presence.

Why would they acknowledge that the Apothecary was suspected without appointing another? It is because another could not be found capable of so great Wickedness. But if the Drugs had been always mingled in the Presence of the Physicians [which is not true] and that the Physicians themselves had not been suspected, they were not always present from the Moment of the Composition, to the Moment that the Drugs were administred, to know and attest that there was no change made in them.

Sect. 81. 'It may be further said, that the Sequestration of 'the *Nuns* had not been executed according to Form; because 'they were not all separated one from the other. But this 'Fault was supply'd and amended, in that they were put some 'of them into the House of one, who is said to be one of the 'best Friends of *Grandier*, call'd *Maurat*.

This is the Reasoning of a passionate and blinded Party, rather than of a dis-interested Judge. Some of the least considerable of the Persons possess'd, and who made no Figure in the Business of the Possession, are put into the House of one of *Grandier*'s Friends, and all the Chiefest are deliver'd to his Mortal and declar'd Enemies; and the Defect of that Sequestration, in its most essential Parts, and almost in all its Parts, is said to be supply'd and repair'd, because it was a little less abusively perform'd in a small Number of the possessed; but to speak Truth, it was not done at all, since they acknowledge here, that it was intirely ill Executed in this Point, that they were not all put separately. It must then be confest, that they have been to blame for having so obstinately stopp'd their Ears, when the Person accus'd has so many times demanded a real Sequestration, and by Consequence, that he has been unjustly condemn'd.

Sect. 82. 'I forbear to speak of the Declarations made by 'the Devils, and which they continually repeated, *viz.* that '*Grandier* was the Subject of their Mission, the Author of 'their Witchcrafts, and the chief Cause of all these Torments; 'from which these poor Maids could not be deliver'd, leaving 'to the Divines to know, if one may believe the Father of 'Lies, and if the Devils duly exorcis'd are oblig'd to speak 'the Truth, and if the Conditions requisite to make a perfect 'Exorcism, are as possible, as necessary. As concerning the 'Host, whereon they say, there were some drops of Blood; 'besides, That this Miracle doth in no wise serve for the Con- 'viction of *Grandier*, and that it happen'd after his Death;

'having

' having not been an Eye-witness thereof, I refer the curious to ' the Information which the Lieutenant Criminal of *Orleans* ' has made thereof.

Sect. 83. To overthrow all at once the Testimonies of the Devils and Persons possess'd, we shall relate here an Act of the *Sorbonne*, more Authoris'd and more decisive, than all the Arguments we can use.

' We, subscribed Doctors of the Faculty of *Paris*, concerning ' a certain Question which has been propos'd to us, are of O- ' pinion, that one ought never to allow the Devil to accuse ' others, and less also to make use of the Exorcisms to dis- ' cover the Faults of any one, and to know if he be a Magi- ' cian; and when the said Exorcisms shall be made in the pre- ' sence of the Holy Sacrament, with an Oath drawn from the ' Devil, by making him Swear, which is a Ceremony we do ' not approve of, however, one ought not for that to believe ' him, being always a Liar, and the Father of Lies; the Exor- ' cisms also being not in all Kinds infallible, to produce such ' Effect as is pretended, and so it is held by most of the ' Doctors. Considering also, that the Devil is greatly delight- ' ed in Calumny and Imposture, and is the Sworn Enemy of ' Mankind, so that notwithstanding the terrible Torments ' which he endures by the Exorcisms, being adjur'd by the ' Name of God in the Presence of the most Holy Sacrament, ' he had rather suffer all that Evil in lying impudently, pro- ' vided he may discharge and execute his Rage upon him, a- ' gainst whom he has a Design: Whereunto may be added, ' that if this Door be once open, the honestest Persons would not ' be in safety, considering that 'tis at those that the Devil chief- ' ly aims; for this Reason St. *Thomas*, Book 22. Quest. 9. Ar- ' ticul. 2. maintains with the Authority of St. *Chrysostom*, that ' *Dæmoni etiam vera dicenti, non est credendum*, the Devil must not ' be believ'd, tho' he speak the Truth. And in Effect, our Sa- ' viour, in St. *Mark*, Ch. 1. and St. *Luke*, Chap. the 4th. ' suffers not the Devils to speak, but enjoyns them Silence, al- ' though they speak the Truth in calling him the Son of GOD. ' Whereby 'tis manifest, that one ought in no wise to proceed ' against those that the Devil shall accuse, when there are no o- ' ther Proofs. And also we see this well observ'd in *France*, ' where the Judges do not take Cognizance of such Depositi- ' ons. And on the other side, all the Discourse held by the ' Devil, so as it had been related to us, is particularly sus- ' pected, for being too long, of one Tenour, and without In- ' termission. Made at *Paris* the 16*th* of *February*, 1620. Sign- ' ed *Andrew du Val*, *P. Gamaches*, and *N. Imbert*.

Sect. 84. ' The reading of this Act, all the Decisions where- ' of so well agree with the Business of *Grandier*, do clearly shew ' the Injustice of the Sentence given against him.

THE
THIRD BOOK.

Sect. 1. IT was with much astonishment and displeasure, that the Monks beheld the courage and resolution that *Grandier* shew'd, even to the last breath of his Life. They did not believe that a Man who had liv'd in ease and pleasure, was capable of so much constancy. They did hope that he would have been shaken by the prospect of the Torments which were provided for him, and by the promise they would have made him for the mitigation of them; Or that at least the Torments themselves would have forc'd from him the Confession of a Crime, whereof they would have made him guilty, and were perswaded that if they could not bring him even to charge those whom they had design'd to make his Complices, they should not fail to draw Consequences very dangerous for them by that Confession, which being ready drawn in such terms as they thought fit, should be presented to him to sign; whereby it might be concluded, that if he did own no more, it was to spare them, and not to expose them to the rigour of the Punishments to which he was condemn'd. 'Twas upon this consideration that *Laubardemont* spake to him very low, and discours'd him a very long time in the

Chamber of Audience, when he denied him the Paper which he ask'd for, wherein doubtless he intended to write quite other things than the Confession they exacted of him, which was once again tender'd to him in vain by the same *Lauberdemont*, all written and ready to sign, after he had undergone the Torture, and that he was in the Council Chamber upon the Straw near the fire. This Obstacle, which they did not expect, or which at least they did assuredly think to surmount, had so highly rais'd the Spirits of the good Fathers, that they proceeded to execute upon his Person the Excesses which have been mention'd: But it serv'd to secure the Bailiffe, the Lieutenant *Civil*, *Magdalane de Brou*, who was *Grandier's* most intimate Friend, and many other Officers and good Catholicks, as well as most of the Protestants, upon whom they pretended to make dangerous attempts in consequence of the Declarations which they endeavour'd to extort from the Sufferer in his Torments.

Sect. 2. Things being in this Condition, and the Exorcists not being yet satisfied, because they had not hitherto found out ways to establish their Inquisition, by causing to be drawn before the Tribunal of the Judges, all those against whom they had a Mind to act in pursuance of *Grandier*'s attestation; they were constrain'd to have recourse to other means, and to endeavour to do by the testimony and power of the Devils, what so many diabolical Actions had not been able to effect.

Sect. 3. Altho' the number of the Persons possess'd were very great, it was seen nevertheless that there were but a very few that were become famous in these Exorcisms and proper to perform the posture

ſtures, and to fall into Convulſions. As the Superior excell'd amongſt the Nuns, *Elizabeth Blanchard* carried the Prize amongſt the Seculars. She had the confidence to maintain to *Grandier*'s Face, that he had carnal commerce with her. And that he had promis'd to make her Princeſs of Magicians, if ſhe would follow him to the *Sabat*, although he had proteſted that he never ſaw her before the day ſhe was confronted to him. She ſaid ſhe was poſſeſs'd by ſix Devils, by *Aſtarot* and the Coal of Impurity, who were of the Order of Angels, by *Belzebub*, and the Lion of Hell, of the Order of Arch-angels, and by *Perou* and *Marou* of the Order of Cherubins. *Aſtarot* had promis'd to raiſe her up ſix foot from the Gound when he went out, and the Lion of Hell to pierce her Foot, the others boaſted of nothing: Theſe Miracles promis'd by the two Devils were expected with impatience, when there was another ſubſtituted in their place.

Sect. 4. The third day after the death of *Grandier* in the Evening, the Father *Peter Thomas de St. Charles*, a Carmelite, Exorciſt of *Elizabeth Blanchard*, having given her the Communion, ſhe was much agitated by one of her Devils, who would not tell his Name. During this Struggle the conſecrated Wafer was held by one of its edges and raiſed its whole length upon the lower lip of the Perſon poſſeſs'd, and was ſeen by all the Aſſiſtants to be red and mark'd with Blood in many places, particularly on the moſt elevated part. The Exorciſt interrogated the Devil in Latin, and commanded him to tell him what the Prodigy meant? The Poſſeſs'd anſwered in *French*, *That it was the Blood of Jeſus Chriſt, thus ſhed upon the Conſecrated Wafer, to convince the wicked and in-*

Credulous, who said it was but Bread; which was confirm'd by great Oaths, and a new Miracle, which the Devil did in this manner. Two Recollects who stood far enough from the Possess'd, agreed together, whispering upon a Motion that she should perform, in an act of Adoration which should be commanded her, to know thereby if she were really possess'd, and if the Devils knew what past in secret. She fail'd not to perform that Motion in saying, *I adore the precious Blood of Jesus Christ there present*, or at least the two Recollects protested that she had done it; so there is no room to doubt it, and it ought to be believ'd, notwithstanding the suspicions there were that she had been advertis'd before by these two fellow Friars of Father *Lactance*, and notwithstanding the complaints that were made, that this sign had been declar'd to no Body but to these two Monks. It happen'd further to the first of these Prodigies, that there were a great many Persons in the Assembly who would search that Maids Mouth, and who consider'd her Tongue, her Lips, and all their Parts, without finding either Wound or Scratch, or Fistula, or any appearance that there had issued out thence Blood that day. In fine, the Exorcist took the Bloody Host, and being devoutly follow'd by all those People who were perswaded and believ'd, he carried it in Procession to the Convent of the Carmelites.

Sect. 5. The next day in the Morning, *August* 22th. *Elizabeth Blanchard* was Exorciz'd again in the Church of the Carmelites. The Exorcist demanded of the Devil, *Of what Church doest thou believe the Authority?* Who answer'd nothing to that Question: But the Maid said by her own Motion, *I have enough to do to speak of that Blood.*

Of

Of what Blood, ſaid the Carmelite to her? *'Tis not thy Blood*, reply'd ſhe, *'tis the Blood of a Maſter who is Almighty.* Whereupon the Exorciſt having commanded her by the Virtue of that Blood, to tell him, Who was that great and Almighty Maſter? She utter'd an Oath ſo horrible, that inſtead of daring to write it here, it makes one tremble to think of it only; and afterwards ſhe anſwer'd, *If I had it thou ſhouldſt never have it.* The Exorciſt proceeded. Q. *I command thee by the Virtue of that Blood, to tell me who is that Almighty Maſter?* A. *I will not anſwer thee concerning that Blood.* Q. *Whoſe is that Blood?* A. *I am inrag'd, thou know'ſt it well; keep it ſafe that it be not ſpill'd, thou ſhalt anſwer for it, God muſt be ſerv'd*; She pronounced theſe Words ſwearing again horribly by the Holy Name of God. Q. *For what is this Blood?* A. *God has made this to the end that more Reverence may be given to the Holy Sacrament: I am obliged to ſay it by the Almighty Power of God.* Q. *Whoſe is that Blood which torments thee? Say, if thou obey'ſt not*—— A. *Thou know'ſt it, I told it yeſterday, I cannot tell it without ſuffering pain.* She utter'd not theſe words before ſhe had gnaſh'd her Teeth, turn'd her Eyes, and ſeemed to ſuffer ſome convulſions. Q. *Tell it, to the end that the Aſſiſtants may now hear it.* A. *We cannot think of God but it increaſeth our Torments, I am inrag'd.* She renounc'd God in concluding that laſt anſwer. Q. *Whoſe is that Blood?* A. *'Tis the Blood*———There ſhe ſtopt ſhort, and fell into another Convulſion. Q. *Whoſe is that Blood which was ſhed yeſterday?* A. *'Tis the Blood of the Son of Man.* Q. *And who is the Son of Man? anſwer.* A. *'Tis the Blood of the Son of the Virgin, I am inrag'd, I will not tell it, this makes me mad.* Upon which ſhe made frightful Grimaces

ces with her Teeth, and dreadful cries. Q. *Who is the Son of the Virgin?* A. *'Tis a little Baby.* Q. *Who is that?* A. *'Tis the little Jesus;* After she had said that she had many convulsions. Q. *Whose Blood is that which was shed yesterday?* A. *'Tis the Blood of Jesus Christ:* She stopt short again, and the Exorcist having commanded her to adore it, as a sign that she had spoke the truth, she rais'd her self up, and went to put her self on her Knees upon the lowest Steps of the Altar, where she stretched out her Arms in the form of a Cross, the palms of her Hands turn'd outwards, her head bow'd downwards, and her face towards the ground, the Exorcist commanded her to adore *with words plainly pronounc'd.* I *adore*, said she, *the Blood of Jesus Christ which was shed yesterday for the incredulous. Proceed*, said the Exorcist. That word imprudently let fall, was taken hold of by one of the Standers by, who said that that signified that she had not recited all that was contain'd in her Part; but he who had been so rash for making that remark, was very fortunate that he could slip amongst the croud, and so get away. The Possessed in the mean time proceeded thus, *He shed his Blood yesterday for the Incredulous, to the end they might believe it was not an Imposture; God at the end of Judgment will condemn them, and then his Anger shall appear, and they shall be more damned than the Devils.* This strange Dialogue being ended, two Carmelites went to find *Lauberdemont*, and they related to him the great Miracle that was done the day before, and what happen'd again at the last Exorcism, as if he had known nothing of it. Whereupon *Lauberdemont* and the Procurator General *Deniau* went to the Convent of the Carmelites, with the Clerk of the Commission. When they

they were near the great Altar of the Church, the Host was presented to them; they found it mark'd with Blood in several places, being a little more full of Spots on one side of the edge than elsewhere, the Marks being more red, and bigger, and all the Blood of a Vermilion colour, although it was quite dry. *Laubardemont* himself would draw up an Act, but 'twas now past noon, and each of the Spectators, for whatsoever reason it was, exprest so great a desire to be gone, that at the request of the King's Procurator, the Commissary caus'd an Act, which had been already drawn up by a Carmelite, to be read immediately, and he oblig'd all the Standers by, of whom some would have been willing to be further off, to swear upon the Holy Gospels, and to attest that that Act contain'd the Truth, afterwards it having been sign'd by the Order of the same Commissary, by all those who could write, and in Particular by the Priests, and Friars, who had assisted the precedent Evening at the Exorcism at *St. Peter du Martrai*, it was sent to the Registry, and the Host was carried in a little Tabernacle, near the great Altar, on the Gospel-side, whereof *Laubardemont* took the Key. The Relation of that Miracle was no sooner printed, but 'twas contradicted by the Incredulous, who maintain'd, that the Exorcist might easily put an Host stain'd with Blood upon *Blanchard's* Mouth; That the Devil himself was honest enough not to speak of Blood going out of the Host, but of Blood shed: That the Carmelite in imitation of him had sufficiently discover'd, that that Part had been devis'd and suggested, when he said to the Person pretended to be possessed, *Proceed*, as 'twas well observ'd by him, who was fain to go out of the

Church; And that thence it followed, that the Blood of *Jesus Christ* had been twice shed, the first time upon the Cross for the expiation of the Sins of Men; and the second upon the Host for the Conviction of the Incredulous, who look'd upon the Possession at *Loudun* as a gross and ill contriv'd Imposture, and which was supported but by the violence of Authority; the Doctrine whereof contain'd so many absurdities and blasphemies, that one cannot too much wonder that there had been Christians in the World who durst introduce and support it.

Sect. 5. That double Miracle was too famous not to deserve to entertain the Reflections of devout Souls for a long time, and 'twas to give them leisure to feed their Holy Avidity, that the Persons possessed stopt, and offer'd them nothing extraordinary. But the Devils, who are active, could not so continue in Idleness. Here follows what they did, as it is contain'd in a Book printed at *Poitiers* by Authority by *Anthony Meusnier*, in the Year 1635. intituled, *A Relation of what pass'd in the Exorcisms at* Loudun, *in the presence of* Monsieur *the King's Brother*, Pag. 22, and 25. wherein the Author having maintain'd, That the Exorcists do almost all, more or less, partake of the Effects of the Devils, by the Inconveniencies and Disturbances they receive, and that few Persons have attempted to expel them, but they have been exercis'd by them. "He adds for "a Witness, the late Father *Lactance Gabriel* of happy Memory; who whilst he was in that Employment, wherein he gloriously died, after he "had expell'd three Devils out of the Mother Prioress, felt great Molestations by those Evil Spirits, loosing sometimes his Sight, sometimes his "Memory, and now and then his Understanding,

" suffering

"suffering Pains at his Heart, Infestations in Spi-"rit, and divers other Molestations. That is, to speak plainly, and without any disguise, that Father *Lactance* died the 18th of *September*, just a Month after the Death of *Grandier*, and that he was almost continually mad, and inrag'd during his disease. If he had some interval during his Frenzy he employed it in Uttering merry Jests, such as when he said to his Physician, *That he pray'd him to prepare in his presence the Medicines he had order'd him, because that all that came from* Adam, *savour'd of Original Sin*, quibbling so upon the Name of *Adam* his Apothecary. *You are very happy*, said he, another time to the Wife of *du Fresne Moussaut*, who tended him, and at whose House he lodg'd; *You are very happy for this, that the Providence of God has made me thus fall into your Hands, and you have obtain'd an opportunity to render me the good services which you do:* And looking with contempt upon the young Monks who were put about to watch with him, *Is it not a lamentable thing*, cry'd he, *That a Man of Weight, Desert, and Importance, as I am, should be serv'd and assisted by such Monkeys and little Hobgoblins?* Certainly if one will not believe with the most Catholick Author of the Relation abovemention'd, that he has been possess'd by real Devils, at least one must agree, that his Conscience did serve him instead of an Executioner and a Devil, since it is certain that he died in such a fit of Madness and Despair as are not to be express'd. It must not be omitted here, that a few days after the death of *Grandier*, that good Father beginning to find himself seiz'd with the Distemper whereof he died, whatever it was, he purpos'd to make a Journey to our Lady of *Ardilliers* at *Saumur*, he had a place in the

Coach

Coach of the *Sieur de Canaye*, who went to divert himſelf at his Eſtate of *Grandſons*, with a company of Perſons who were not greatly ſcrupulous, as he himſelf was not. They knew already that 'twas nois'd about, that the Father was really poſſeſs'd, and they flirted out againſt him ſome jeſting paſſages upon that Subject, when all upon a ſudden going on gently in an even way, the Coach overturn'd, the top of it falling undermoſt without any Body's being hurt, or receiving any inconvenience. Whatſoever courage the Company had, they were ſurpriz'd at that Accident; and when they were come to *Grandſons*, being at the Table, they diſcours'd very ſeriouſly concerning the Devils of *Loudun*, and the death of *Grandier*, with Father *Lactance*. He ſeem'd ſad and diſorder'd, and ſpake little in that Converſation; he only acknowledg'd that he repented of his adviſing that they ſhould deny Father *Grillau* to be Confeſſor to *Grandier*, who had deſir'd it with ſo much earneſtneſs. The next day they proceeded on their Journey for *Saumur*, where the Coach was again over-turn'd after the ſame manner, in the middle of the great Street of the Suburb of *Fenet*, which leads to the Chapel of *Ardilliers*, and which is alſo very plain and even, which gave a great Reputation to the Noiſe that was ſpread abroad of the Poſſeſſion of Father *Lactance* by evil Spirits, and that rumor yet made a far greater Impreſſion upon the People, when they had ſeen that Father die mad and in deſpair. But that which did fully confirm that Belief, was the applauſe which the Monks gave it; for it concern'd them ſo exceedingly to make the Poſſeſſion find Credit, that to remove all doubts, and to have an eſſential Proof,

Proof, they would readily agree that Father *Lactance* did die possess'd, saving that they might the better turn that Possession to the Glory of the Church, and of the late Matyr, and to the advantage of the other Exorcists, even as it appear'd in the Relation printed at *Poitiers* above cited.

Sect. 6. The Lieutenant Civil of *Loudun*, *Lewis Chauvct* had testified by his Proceedings and oppositions to the Procedures of the first Exorcists, that he gave no credit to those Devils, and did not fear them. However he could not overcome the fear which seiz'd him, and so far possess'd him, that it never forsook him during the remainder of his Life. That Magistrate had Wit, Politeness and Honesty: But as he had not been willing to applaud the Possession, the Cabal, to cause him to be suspected, had had recourse to the ordinary and general means, which was to accuse him of Magick by one of the Possess'd. At first he laugh'd at the Accusation, and accounted it as ridiculous, as indeed it was. But when he had seen the tragical End of *Grandier*, his courage was shaken, and he began to be afraid. In that disposition he took a Journey to *Poitiers*, where the Assizes were held; he met with a Man there of consideration and quality, by whom he was particularly known; he had a long conference with him upon the Subject of the Possession at *Loudun*, and of the condemnation of *Grandier*: Whereupon that Friend assur'd him, that after he had well consider'd all the circumstances of that Affair, it was his persuasion, that all those who had been accus'd of that Magick, and should be for the future, would be in great danger to lose both their Honours and Life; And that if he saw himself

himself accus'd of that Crime, as *Grandier* had been, he should think himself lost without hope, whatsoever Credit, Friends, or good Reputation he had. This Declaration surprized the Lieutenant Civil, he was confounded and the Agitations of the fright seiz'd so violently upon his Spirit, that they overturn'd it, and reduc'd him to such a condition, that since he was never restor'd to his right Understanding.

Sect. 7. The Carmelites of *Loudun* heretofore had been possess'd of the Power of working Miracles; they had an Image of our Lady, call'd our *Lady of Recovery*, who fail'd not any one of those in what they requir'd of her devoutly, and in the requisite form. But since that Image of *Ardilliers* came to be set up at *Saumur*, in the Neighbourhood of the former, as if she had been her Rival, she usurp'd all her Power and Credit; and 'tis no great wonder; for doubtless there's no body in the World, who does not agree, that the Priests of the Oratory are more able and cunning People than the Carmelites. At that time all one Quarter and a Suburb of *Loudun*, which was fill'd with Inns for Pilgrims, remain'd unpeopled and desolate, and the Carmelites without Presents, Votaries, and Gospel-money. What was there to be done in such a Desertion? They employ'd Humane Means to re-establish the Work, which the Image had not been able to support, and which she had suffer'd to decay: They pierc'd the Wall of the Altar upon which she was plac'd; they drew a Branch of a Vine, which was planted behind it, and brought it through this Wall just to her Eyes; and at the time when the Vine us'd to weep, the Image in the presence of a number of People assembled to hear Mass

Maſs and the Sermon, wept at ſeveral times for their want of Devotion, and for the Contempt they made of her Altar and her Power. But that Contrivance having not ſucceeded happily, becauſe of the great multitude of Proteſtants which were then at *Loudun*, who had maliciouſly examin'd the Miracle, and diſcover'd the Artifice, thoſe good Fathers were very glad to find in the Poſſeſſion, and in the Authority of its Confederates, a way open to ſave their Credit, in ſpite of the piercing and malicious Eyes, and indiſcreet Tongues of *Hereticks*, who were conſtrain'd to keep ſilent, by *the Terror of Loubardemont*, which, to uſe the Scripture Language, *was fallen upon them*, and gave them deadly Alarms. Theſe Fathers knew readily to lay hold of the opportunity in the Exorciſm of *Elizabeth Blanchard* on the 21ſt of *June*, wherein was produc'd the Hoſt ſtain'd with Blood; and believing that after that Proof, there were no more Miracles which they were not able to perform, they attempted to cauſe a Devil, or a Magician, to bring a Copy of the Inſtrument in Writing, which *Grandier* had given to the Devil, when they made their Agreement. To attempt and to ſucceed was the ſame thing for theſe good Fathers, who pretended to be inveſted with the Authority of the Church. Having got that Copy, they caus'd it to be Printed, and fix'd in ſeveral places, to the end that if there were yet any Incredulous Perſon in the World, he ſhould be fully convinc'd of the Poſſeſſion by a Proof ſo ſolid and ſo evident: Whereof theſe were the Contents; *My Lord and Maſter*, Lucifer, *I acknowledge you for my God, and I promiſe to ſerve you as long as I ſhall live; I renounce any other God, and Jeſus Chriſt, and other Saints, and the Apoſtolical and Ro-*

man Church, and all the Sacraments of the ſame, and all the Prayers and Oriſons which may be made for me; and I promiſe you to do all the Miſchief I ſhall be able, and to entice as many Perſons, as I can, to do hurt: And I renounce the Chryſom and Baptiſm, and all the Merits of Jeſus Chriſt and his Saints: And in caſe I fail to ſerve, adore, and do homage to you thrice a day, I give you my Life, as belonging to you. The Original is in Hell, in a Corner of that Country, in the Cabinet of Lucifer. *Sign'd with the Blood of the Magician.* 'Tis not to be doubted but that this is the Stile of the Court of Hell; for either the Devils themſelves drew up this Act, or elſe it muſt be forged in the Convent of the Carmelites; and if ſo, one may be bold to ſay, that there are Monks, who are ſkilful enough to imitate the Stile of Devils, and are ſo learn'd in their Languages and Cuſtoms, that one may eaſily take the Acts which they make in the obſcure Retreat of their Cloiſters, to have been fram'd in the very Darkneſs of Hell. It is a Truth whereof one may be entirely convinc'd by the inſpection of this, that it cannot be denied but that Diabolical Spirits were the Authors of it.

Sect. 8. The Place of the Reverend Father *Lactance* having continued void by his Death, 'twas very fit that they ſhould caſt their Eyes upon a Jeſuite to ſupply it. For why ſhould not that Order, ſo famous, ſo pious, and ſo proper to make every thing ſucceed that they undertake, have been call'd in to combat againſt the Devils? Seeing that every one of them who enters therein, is born, as they themſelves boaſt, *with a Helmet on his Head*, and arm'd with all ſorts of offenſive and defenſive Weapons? 'Tis true, that Father *Joſeph* would not ſuffer it, whilſt he thought himſelf able to perform the Office of Exorciſt, and he caus'd almoſt

moſt all that Miſſion to fall into the Hands of the Friars of St. *Francis*; but after that he was diſguſted, and that he had refus'd to be concern'd himſelf in that Buſineſs, the way remain'd open to the Jeſuits, who enter'd it with Joy. It was not leſs worthily ſupplied by Father *Surin*, of whom they made choice amongſt themſelves for that purpoſe, than it had been by his Predeceſſor. That Father came to *Loudun* the 25th of *December*; and to be well inform'd with what he did there, it may be learnt from his own Writings, wherein he ſays, ' That he endeavour'd to diſcover with Evidence, ' the Poſſeſſion of the Devil in the Mother Prioreſs; ' That this was the firſt Obligation, he believ'd, was ' incumbent upon him in the firſt entrance upon his ' Office; That he had found unqueſtionable Proofs, ' and could ſwear before God and his Church, That ' more than two hundred times the Devils had diſco- ' ver'd to him things very ſecret, concealed in his ' Thought or his Perſon. One muſt believe this Teſtimony of a Jeſuit in favour of the Devil, and to the prejudice of God, who thereby is found to have no longer, and to the excluſion of all others, the ſole Power of Searching the Hearts, the Reins and the Thoughts. How important and terrible ſoever this Opinion might be, it is hereby become probable, or rather Father *Surin* deſerves well to be believ'd on his Word. But if one were yet too obſtinate and incredulous not to be perſwaded of the Truth of the Poſſeſſion, upon the Faith of ſuch a Voucher, one need but conſider, without Prepoſſeſſion, the new and unqueſtionable Proofs which hereafter follow.

Sect. 9. *The Relation of what paſt in the Exorciſms at* Loudun, *in the preſence of* Monſieur, printed at *Poitiers*, which has been already quoted, relates,

lates, 'That the Devils threatned at first the Father Jesuit, by the Mouth of the Mother Prioress, who had been given him in charge, to use him very ill, and to be fully reveng'd of him; and as he pursued daily his Design, they attempted, being sollicited, as they said, by some Magicians, to disturb him extraordinarily, to cause him to quit his Employment: So that he began, since the 19th of *January*, 1635, to be sensible of divers Signs of the Presence and malicious Operations of Devils; and that it was observ'd at that time, that performing his Exorcism, he lost his Speech upon a sudden; so that they were oblig'd to call in some other Exorcists, who applying the Holy Sacrament to his Mouth, freed him entirely; That that accident continu'd a long time, and even in the presence of the Bishop of *Nimes*; who, whilst the Devil nam'd *Isaacarum* took possession of the Countenance of the Mother Superior, and spake by her Mouth, he saw how the Devil audaciously threatning the Father to impose Silence upon him, disappear'd on a sudden from the Countenance of the possess'd, and at the same time attack'd the Father; that he made him change Colour, that he squeez'd his Breast, and stopp'd his Speech; and that quickly after, obeying that command which was given to quit him, he return'd to the Body of the Prioress, spake by her Mouth, and shew'd himself extreamly hideous and horrible upon her Countenance; That the Father renewing the Combat, continued his Function with the same Liberty, as if he had not felt any Assault of the Devil; and so one Afternoon he was assaulted and acquitted seven or eight times one after another. That these Assaults

have

'have been follow'd by others much ſtronger,
'which began before the Paſſion Week, when the De-
'vil ſaid often to the Exorciſt by the Mouth of the
'Poſſeſs'd, *I will make thee ſuffer the Paſſion this Paſſion*
'*Weeek, my Friends are taking pains about it*, intend-
'ing to ſpeak of ſome Magicians. And that real-
'ly on good Friday about the Evening, the Father
'being in his Chamber, in the company of eigh
'or ten Perſons, he felt great pains at his Heart,
'and certain impetuoſities which mov'd him in-
'wardly, and conſtrain'd him to twiſt himſelf,
'as it happens in the extremities of the Cholick;
'That theſe Aſſaults which began at home, con-
'tinued afterwards in publick, according to the
'Threats which the Devil often made to the Fa-
'ther; proteſting that he would make him quit
'his Trade, and compel him to return from
'whence he came. That 'twas ſeen during the
'Exorciſms, that the Devil exorciz'd by the Fa-
'ther, leaving the Prioreſs, ſtruck the Exorciſt
'inwardly, as with a Dart, and threw him on
'the Ground, ſo that he cried and was ſhaken
'by his Adverſary and Atagoniſt; That after
'he had continued in that condition about half
'an hour, or an hour, by the Succours of other
'Exorciſts, and the application of the Holy
'Sacrament to the Places where he was ſenſible
'of the preſence of the Devil, one while in the
'Breaſt, and another while in the Head, which
'he ſhew'd with his Hand, (as being always
'himſelf, and in liberty of Spirit,) and the reſt
'of his Body, he was deliver'd, and that that
'Devil went to appear in the Countenance of the
'Prioreſs; where the Father being relieved, with
'a holy Vengeance he went to purſue him, as

'if nothing had happen'd, and forc'd him to adore
'the Holy Sacrament in the manner that is practi-
'sed in those Exorcisms.

Sect. 10. But possibly one may believe a Letter which the Father *Surin* himself writ to Father *D'atichi*, who was then at *Rennes*; 'tis of the 3d. of *May*. 1635. and has been Printed under this Title.

A

A

LETTER

Of the Reverend Father Surin *Jesuit Exorcist of the* Ursulin Nuns *of* Loudun, *to one of his Friends, a Jesuit.*

PAX CHRISTI

To my Reverend Father.

‘THere has been scarcely any Body, to whom ‘I take the Pleasure to relate my Adventures ‘but to your Reverence, who hears them willing-‘ly, and forms thereupon thoughts which happen ‘not so easily to others, who know me not as ‘you do. Since the last Letter which I writ you, ‘I am fallen into a condition very remote from ‘my foresight, but very conformable to the Provi-‘dence of God in relation to my Soul; I am ‘no more at *Marennes* but at *Loudun*, where I ‘have receiv'd yours lately: I am in a prepetu-‘al conversation with the Devils, where I have ‘had the Adventures which would be too long to ‘mention to you, and which have given me a ‘greater cause than ever I had to acknowledge ‘and admire the Goodness of God. I will tell ‘you something, and I would tell you further, ‘if you were more secret; I am combating with ‘four Devils, the most powerful and malicious

'of Hell, I my self, say, whose infirmities you know. 'God has permited that the Combat has been 'so rude, and the Approaches so frequent, that 'the smallest Field of Battle was the Exorcism; 'for the Enemies declare themselves in secret by 'Night and by Day, and in a thousand different 'ways. You may conceive what pleasure it is 'to find ones self at the Mercy of God alone. 'I will tell you no more, it sufficeth me that 'knowing my condition, you will take an occa'sion to pray for me: So it is, that for three 'Months and a half, I never am without a De'vil exercising of me. Things are come to 'that pass, that God has permitted, I think for my 'Sins, what one could never be able to have seen 'in the Church, but in the exercise of my Mini'stry, the Devil passes from the Body of a Per'son possessed, and coming into mine, assaults 'me, overthrows me, tosses me, and visibly trou'bles me, by possessing me many hours as a *De'moniac.* I cannot explain to you what passes 'in me during that time, and how that Spirit 'was united with mine, without depriving me 'either of the knowledge or liberty of my Soul, 'making himself nevertheless as another my self, 'and as if I had two Souls, one of which was 'dispossest of its Body and the use of its Or'gans, and keeps it self apart, beholding the 'other act, who has introduced himself there. 'These two Spirits combat together in the same 'Field which is the Body, and the Soul is as it were 'divided; according to one part of its self, it is 'the Subject of diabolical Impressions, and ac'cording to the other, of the Motions which 'are proper to it, or what God gives it. At the same 'time I feel great quiet under the good pleasure

'of

'of God, and without knowing how there come
'an extream rage and averſion to him, which
'produceth as it were ſome impetuoſities to be ſe-
'perated from him, which aſtoniſheth thoſe who
'ſee them, and at the ſame time a great joy and
'delight, and on the other part a Sadneſs which
'ſhews it ſelf by lamentations and howlings, like
'to thoſe of Devils. I feel the State of Damna-
'tion, and apprehend it, I feel my ſelf as pierced
'with the points of Deſpair in the ſtranger Soul,
'which ſeems to me to be mine; and the other Soul
'which is in full confidence mocks at thoſe Senti-
'ments, and curſeth with all freedom him who
'caus'd them; truly I find that the ſame cries,
'which go out of my Mouth, come equally
'from theſe two Souls, and I can hardly di-
'ſtinguiſh, whether it is pleaſure that produceth
'them, or the extream madneſs that filled me. The
'tremblings which ſeize me, when the Holy Sa-
'crament is apply'd to me, come equally, as it
'ſeems to me, from the horrour of its preſence,
'which is ſupportable, and from a Cordial and
'pleaſing Reverence, without being able to attri-
'bute them to the one rather than to the other,
'and that 'tis not in my power to retain them.
'When I would, by the motion of one of theſe
'two Souls, make the ſign of the Croſs on my
'Mouth, the other turns away my Hand with
'great quickneſs, and ſeizeth my Fingers with
'his Teeth, for to bite them with fury. I ſcarce-
'ly ever find Prayer more eaſie, and quiet, than in
'theſe agitations, whilſt the Body rolls through
'the Place, and the Miniſters of the Church
'ſpeak to me as to a Devil, and load me with
'Curſes; I cannot tell you the Joy that I am ſen-
'ſible of, being become a Devil, not by rebellion

'to God, but by the calamity which gives me a lively Representation of the estate wherein Sin has reduc'd me, and how appropriating to me all the curses which are given me, my Soul has cause to sink it self into its nothingness. When the other Possessed behold me in that condition, 'tis a Pleasure to see how they triumph, and as Devils mock me, saying, Physician heal thy self, be gone, get thee up into the Pulpit, 'twill be a pretty sight to see him preach, after he shall have roll'd through the place; *Tentaverunt, subsannaverunt me subsannatitione frenderunt super me dentibus suis.* What a cause of Blessing is this, to see ones self made the Mock-game of Devils? And that the Justice of God calls me to an account in this World for my Sins. But what favours! to experience from what an estate *Jesus Christ* has delivered me, and to feel how great that Redemption is, not by hear-say, but by the impression of the same estate, and how good it is to have at the same time the ability to understand perfectly this calamity, and to give thanks to the divine Goodness who has deliver'd us with so great trouble and pains! This is the condition I am in at this time, almost every day. This gives occcasion to great disputes, *& factus sum magna quæstio*, whether it be a possession or no, whether it be possible for the Ministers of the Gospel to fall into so great inconveniences? Some say, that 'tis a chastisement of God on me for the punishment of some Illusions; others say, some other thing; and for my part I would not change my Condition with another, having a firm perswasion that there is nothing better than to be reduc'd to great extremities. That wherein I am is such, that I have few operations free. When I would speak they

'they stop my Mouth; At the Mass I am hindred
'from going any further; At Confession I forget
'my Sins all at once, and I feel the Devil go and
'come in me as into his House; When I awake
'he is there at my Prayer; He bereaves me of
'my thought when he pleaseth; when my Heart
'begins to dilate it self towards God, he fills it
'with rage; He casts me into a Sleep when I
'would wake; And publickly by the Mouth
'of the possess'd, he boasts that he is my Master;
'against which I have nothing to say, having
'the reproach of my Conscience, and upon my
'Head the Sentence pronounc'd against Sinners;
'I ought to submit to it, and to reverence the
'order of the Divine Providence, to which every
'Creature must be subject. 'Tis not one Devil
'that torments me, there are usually two; The
'one is *Leviathan* oppos'd to the Holy Ghost, for
'as much as they say that in Hell there is a Trini-
'ty. That the Magicians worship *Lucifer*, *Belze-*
'*bub* and *Leviathan*, who is the third Person of
'Hell; And some Authors have observ'd and
'writ of it heretofore. Now the Operations of
'this false Paraclete are all contrary to the true
'one, and imprint a desolation, which one can-
'not well represent. He is the chief of all the
'Band of our Devils, and he has the Govern-
'ment of all that Affair, which is one of the strang-
'est that possibly was ever seen. We see in this very
'place Paradice and Hell; I mean the *Nuns* who
'are as so many *Ursula*'s, taken in one Sense, and
'in the other, worse than the most Profligate in
'all sorts of Disorders, Beastlyness, Blasphemies
'and Madness. I do not desire that your Reve-
'rence would make my Letter publick, if it
'please you. You are the only Person, to whom

'except my Confessor and my Superiors, I have 'been willing to say so much. It is but to entertain some Communications, which may assist 'us to glorifie God; In which I am your most 'humble Servant, *John Joseph Surin.*

And by a Postscript.

'I pray you to procure for me Prayers, having 'need of them. I am for whole Weeks so stupid towards Divine Things, that I should be 'glad that some body would make me pray to 'God like a Child, and would expound to me 'the *Pater Noster*. The Devil said to me, I will 'deprive thee of all, and thou will have need that 'thy faith continue, I will make thee become stupid; he has made a Pact with a Witch to hinder 'me to speak of God, and to have power to restrain my Spirit, which he performs very faithfully as he promis'd, and I am constrain'd to 'have some Understanding, to hold often the 'Holy Sacrament upon my Head, using the 'Key of *David* to unlock my Memory.

Sect. 11. But in a Manuscript Copy, which some have in keeping, there is a second Postscript, which has not been Printed, and 'tis this.

'I am content to die, seeing our Lord has 'done me the favour to have withdrawn three 'consecrated Wafers, which three Witches had 'put into the Hands of the Devil, who brought 'me them publickly from *Paris*, where they were 'under the Mat of a Bed, and left the Church 'in Possession of that Glory, and to have in some

'some measure render'd to her Redeemer, what 'she had receiv'd of him, having redeem'd it out 'of the Hands of the Devil. I know not whe- 'ther our Lord will soon take away my Life, 'for when I was in pain about that affair, I gave 'it him freely, and promise to quit it for the Price 'of these three Waters. It seems that the Devil 'by these bodily evils that he caus'd me, would 'make use of his right, and consume me by little 'and little.

Sect. 12. They who publish'd the Letter, have questionless judg'd it fit to suppress that last Postscript; and they had done well also to suppress the whole Letter, and the horrible Things it contains, which will not fail to induce the Reader to think seriously of the condition wherein the Exorcist has been, as well as his Predecessor the Father *Lactance*. In effect, if it be true, that that there are Sorcerers, Magicians and Persons possess'd, or that there may be, as none can doubt, is there not evidence enough, that God for the just Punishment of these Wicked Persons, who upon this occasion so impudently mock his divine Majesty, has permitted, that their abominable and diabolical dissimulation, should become a truth, and that they should be really possess'd by the Devils, whom they would counterfeit, testifying by so many horrid Actions, that they believ'd not their Existence, nor that of God himself; seeing that if they had believ'd it, they would have trembled, and never dare to attempt to make it their Pastime in so wicked and insolent a manner. Certainly if they have not been actually possessed, and by real and bodily Possession which is pretended here, it is however certain that the Devil had fill'd their Heart, that

that he presides over their abominable Acts, that he was the Author, and that one may say in that sense with much justice and reason, that they were absolutely possess'd. But to omit nothing of what concerns the Truth of the Facts, leaving otherwise to the Reader the liberty to judge according to his Sentiments, one cannot refrain from declaring here that all the Relations do mention that the Fathers *Lactance*, *Tranquille* and *Surin*, after the death of *Grandier*, were troubled by Devils, and that all the Protestants or Papists who have been discourst with upon that Subject, who had assisted at the Exorcisms, and had knowledge of the death of the *Recollect* and that of the *Capucin*, have agreed of all the Facts, which are related here concerning their condition, as of the greatest part of the other Acts which are contain'd in the *Relation of what past in the Exorcisms at* Loudun *in the presence of Monsieur, the Duke of* Orleans, and in the Letter of *Father Surin*, and they have all protested that they did not believe that all the abominable things which they had seen and heard, could have been produced by the only power of Nature, nor only by the perversity thereof, but that it must needs be that Devils intermeddle, and that they had really possess'd those pretended Exorcists. Whereupon 'tis to be found in the Relations that were then writ, that they reproach'd the Jesuit that he resembled not the Apostles, nor the Exorcists of the Primitive Church, which fail'd not to expel readily the Devils in the Name, and by the Authority of *Jesus Christ*, without being either abus'd, or insulted, or much less possess'd, but that his Exorcisms were like those of the Jews, of whom it is said in the Acts of the Apostles, who attempted to invoke the Name

of

of the Lord *Jesus* over those who had evil Spirits, saying, *We adjure you by Jesus Christ, whom* Paul *preach'd*, to whom the evil Spirit answer'd, Jesus *I know, and* Paul *I know, but who are ye? and the Man in whom the evil Spirit was, leaping upon them, and mastering them, us'd violence against them; So that they fled away naked and wounded out of the House.*

Sect. 13. Much after this manner was the Condition of Father *Surin*; for besides his Sufferings either real or feigned, he perform'd more than a Year the Function of Exorcist, without expelling any Devil: In the mean time some days after that he writ the terrible Letter, the Copy whereof you have read, Monsieur the King's Brother came to *Loudun*, to see the Wonders of that famous Possession, which made so great a noise both within the Kingdom and without. The Author of the Relation printed at *Poitiers*, reports that Monsieur arriv'd at *Loudun* the 9th of *May*. 1635. 'That his Highness went presently to the Convent of the *Ursulines*, where being at the Grate, 'and being informed by them of their condition, 'Sister *Agnes* seem'd a little troubled, and made 'some tremblings, which shew'd the presence of the 'first of the four Devils which possess'd her, nam'd '*Asmodee*, when 'twas resolv'd to exorcise her presently, and that *Asmodee* delay'd not long to 'discover his greatest rage, shaking divers times 'the Maid backward and forward, and making 'her batter as an Hammer with so great great 'quickness, that her Teeth crash'd, and her Throat 'made a forc'd noise; That during these Agitations, her countenance became so altogether 'chang'd as not to be known, her looks furious, 'her Tongue prodigiously great, long, and hang-

ing

'ing down out of her Mouth, livid and dry to 'that degree, that the want of Moisture caus'd 'it to seem all rough and shaggy, without being 'in the mean time any ways press'd with her 'Teeth, and her breathing being always equal; 'That *Beherit*, who is also another Devil, made 'appear a second Countenance smiling and agree-'able, which was again diversly chang'd by two 'other Devils, *Achas* and *Achaos*, who shew'd 'themseves one after the other; That *Asmodee* 'being commanded to continue still, and the o-'thers to retire, her first countenance return'd; 'That the Devil being adjur'd to adore the Sa-'crament, said presently, *That he would himself* '*be ador'd*, but at last he obey'd, prostrating his 'Body on the Ground; That after divers other 'Countenances the Sister *Agnes* brought one of her 'Feet by the hinder part of her Head, even to 'her Fore-head, in such a manner that her great 'Toe almost touched her Nose; That the Exor-'cist having commanded him to kiss the Pix, 'and to tell who it was that he had ador'd, the 'Devil, after he had made many difficulties, obey'd 'the former of these commands, but that he re-'fus'd to obey the second; That laying his Hand 'on the Pix, he swore, *By the God who is there, I* '*will not tell*; That as the Father insisted, com-'manding him absolutely to tell it, the Devil 'reply'd as it were mocking him, *perceiv'st thou* '*not that I have just now nam'd him.* That then 'he withdrew, and the Maid came to her self, 'and said to Monsieur, that she remembred some 'of the things that were done, but not all, and 'that she heard the Answers that came from her 'Mouth, as if another had spake them; That 'her arm having been felt by a Physician and

'a Surgeon of Monſieur, her Pulſe was found to
'be equal after ſo many ſhakings and violent agi-
'tations.

Sect. 14. 'The day following Monſieur went 'to St. *Croſs*, whither they brought *Elizabeth Blanchard*, to make her take the Communion in 'his preſence: The Relation of that day mentions, That one of the ſix Devils which poſſeſs'd 'her, nam'd *Aſtarot*, appear'd preſently and troubled 'her; That her Exorciſt having commanded this 'Devil to approach the Maid, ſhe fell into a general Convulſion of all her Body; That her 'Face chang'd both the form and colour, appearing livid, and much ſwollen, and her Tongue going all out of her Mouth, very much charged, and 'of a length, thickneſs, and bigneſs altogether extraordinary; That in this Condition ſhe came 'rolling and wriggling even to the Feet of the 'Prieſt, who laid the Holy Sacrament upon her 'Lips, commanding the Devil to hinder that 'the Elements ſhould not be moiſtn'd in any manner, and forbidding him to commit or ſuffer that 'any of his Companions practiſe any Irreverence 'againſt that adorable Myſtery; That the Maid 'was immediately thrown upon the Floor, where 'the Devil exercis'd great violences upon her 'Body, and gave horrid marks of his rage; That 'he turned her thrice backwards in the form of a 'Bow, in ſuch a manner that ſhe touch'd not the 'Pavement but with the tip of her Toes, and the 'end of her Noſe, and that ſhe ſeem'd as if ſhe 'would have made the Holy Hoſt to touch the 'Ground, bringing it near almoſt as within the 'thickneſs of a leaf of Paper; but the Exorciſt 'reiterating his former prohibitions always hin-

'der'd

'der'd it; That the Devil raiſing himſelf up, 'blew againſt the Holy Hoſt, which was ſeen 'upon the Lips of the Poſſeſs'd, ſhaken like a 'leaf of a Tree, when a violent Wind ſtrikes 'upon it, and paſſing it divers times from one 'Lip to the other; That *Beelzebub* having been 'commanded to come up to her Face, there was 'to be ſeen a beating of her Throat, which ſwell'd 'it exceedingly, and made it hard as a piece of 'Wood; That Monſieur having deſir'd to ſee all 'the Devils appear which poſſeſs'd that Maid, 'the Exorciſt made them come into her Coun-'tenance one after another, rendering it very hi-'deous, but every one making a different Deformi-'ty; That when *Aſtarot* had been commanded 'to appear, there was obſerv'd under the left 'Arm-pit a great Tumour, with a quick beating 'which was admir'd by all the Aſſiſtants, and 'even by his Highneſſes Phyſician; That the De-'vil being retir'd from that place by the com-'mand of the Exorciſt, he went to ſeize her Vi-'ſage, and let the Hoſt fall upon the Paten, 'wherein it was ſeen to be very dry, without 'leaving any mark whereby it had ſtuck to her 'Lips, which the Devil had ſo dried, that the 'Skin appear'd white and ſtanding up; That 'the Exorciſt touch'd with his Fingers all the edges 'of the Wafer without ſticking to it, to ſhew 'that it had not been retain'd upon her Lips by 'any moiſture; That that ſame Exorciſt wip'd 'the Teeth of the Maid with his Surplice, and laid 'the Holy Hoſt on one of the Fore-teeth of the 'upper-row, and that it hung in that manner a 'long time, laid croſs the edge of the tooth, and 'not holding there but by a bare touch of the 'point of its circumference, notwithſtanding the

violent

'violent agitations of all the Body, the ſtrange 'contorſions of the Mouth, and a very vehement 'blaſt which *Aſtarot* made to throw it out; That 'after all the Species were ſwallow'd down by 'the command of the Exorciſt, who pray'd Mon-'ſieur's Phyſician to ſearch the Mouth of the Maid, 'to ſee if the Wafer were there; which he did, 'putting his Fingers within the Gums, and thruſt-'ing them to her Throat, and found that there 'was nothing; that after that they made the 'Maid to drink a draught of Water, and caus'd 'her Mouth to be ſearch'd once again; that at 'laſt the Exorciſt having order'd *Aſtarot* to bring 'back the Wafer, it was ſeen preſently after up-'on the tip of the Tongue, and that this Experi-'ment was try'd two other times again. So this 'Wafer ſerv'd for a Paſtime to the Devils: Thus was 'it expoſed to their blaſts and violences, to be 'ſeen, and not to be ſeen, to be ſwallow'd and 'to be caſt up again; to be held on one Lip, 'then repell'd upon the other, and in the end 'to ſuffer all the Indignities that could be pretend-'ed to be neceſſary to ſerve for Proofs of the 'Poſſeſſion, and to confirm it, for want of mi-'raculous Effects, which they might have pro-'duc'd, if it had been real and true, as to raiſe the 'Bodies of the poſſeſſed many foot high from 'the Ground, and to hold them ſo ſometime 'hanging in the Air, and many others, whereof 'there has been already ſpoken, and of which 'we ſhall ſpeak hereafter, which is the rea-'ſon that we paſs them by at this preſent in ſi-'lence.

Sect. 15. After that the Author of the Relation has thus mentioned the Feats of Activity of the Devils of *Elizabeth Blanchard*, he alſo

ſpeaks

ſpeaks of thoſe of the Siſter *Claire de Sazilli*, and ſays. 'That Monſieur being come to the '*Urſulines* in the afternoon of that very day, that '*Nun* was exorcis'd in his Preſence; That the 'Devil, the Enemy of the Virgin, appear'd accord-'ing to the command which the Father *Elizee* '*Capucin*, her uſual Exorciſt, had given him; 'That he made her ſupple and pliant as a Plate of 'Lead; That the Exorciſt afterwards bow'd her 'Body in ſeveral faſhions, backward and for-'ward, and on each ſide, ſo that ſhe almoſt 'touch'd the Ground with her Head, the Devil 'keeping her in the Poſture wherein ſhe had 'been put, till 'twas altered by them, having 'not during that time, which was very long, 'any breathing through her Mouth, but only 'a little blowing through her Noſe; that ſhe 'was almoſt inſenſible, ſeeing that the Father 'took the Skin of her Arm and pierc'd it through 'with a Pin, without any Blood coming thence, 'or that the Maid ſeem'd to have any ſenſe of 'it; That *Sabulon* appear'd after, who roll'd her 'along the Chappel, and caus'd her to make ſeveral 'contorſions and tremblings; That five or ſix 'times he brought her left Foot over her Should-'er to the Cheek, embracing in the mean while 'her Leg on the ſame ſide; that during all theſe 'Agitations, her Countenance was very deform'd 'and ghaſtly, her Tongue thick, livid and hang-'ing down even to her Chin, and no ways preſs'd 'by her Teeth; That her breathing was equal, 'her Eyes fixed, and always open without wink-'ing; That there happened to her after that an 'extenſion of her Legs ſo wide, that ſhe touch'd 'the Ground with her *Perinæum*; That whilſt ſhe 'was in that Poſture, the Exorciſt made her hold

her

'her Body upright, and to joyn her Hands together; That *Sabulon* being conjur'd to adore the Holy Sacrament, made ſome reſiſtance, but that being preſs'd to it, he dragg'd the Body quite bowed, the Hands a little diſtant one from the other without joyning, her Face half turn'd, and painted like a repreſentation of Hell, and went to kiſs the Foot of the Holy Pix which the Exorciſt held in his Hand, teſtifying by his Geſtures, Tremblings, Crys, and Tears, both Horrour, Reverence, and Deſpair; That the Exorciſt having aſk'd him, *What he had ador'd?* he ſaid, after ſome denial, *'Tis he who was put upon the Croſs*; That Monſieur having ſeen and admir'd all theſe things, agreed ſecretly with Father *Tranquille* upon a thing which he deſir'd that the Devil would find out; That the Exorciſt conjur'd him to obey, ſaying, *Obedias ad mentem Principis*, and that the Devil having caſt a frightful look upon Monſieur, he fell upon his Knees, his Hands being joyn'd towards the Father *Elizee*, and kiſs'd his Right-Hand. Whereupon Monſieur expreſt himſelf to be mightily ſatisfied, ſaying aloud, *There is no more to be ſaid: I deſir'd that he would kiſs his Right-Hand, he has exactly obey'd*; That the Mother Prioreſs being come into the Liſts, the Devil *Balaam* appear'd at firſt, but that quickly after he gave place to *Iſaacarum* by the order of Father *Surin* her Exorciſt; That this laſt ador'd the Sacrament as the others, by giving marks of a horrible deſpair: *The rage*, ſaid he, *which I have for having loſt it, takes from me the liberty of adoring it*; But that the Father repeating the command he had given him, he put the Body of the Prioreſs into a frightful Convulſion, and drawing

'out a Tongue horribly deform'd, blackish, and
'grain'd like *Spanish* Leather, without being press'd
'by the Teeth, and so dry, as if it had never
'had any Moisture, and being not out of breath;
'That there was observ'd in other Postures such an
'extension of her Legs, that there were seven Foot
'distance from one Foot to the other, the Maid
'being but four foot high; That after that the
'Devil threw her with her Belly on the Ground
'at the Feet of the Father, who held the Sacra-
'ment in his Hand, and that having her Body and
'Arms in the form of the Cross, he turn'd first
'the Palms of her Hands upwards, he brought
'them afterwards quite round, so that the Palm
'of each Hand touch'd the Pavement, and that
'he brought the Hands so turn'd, by joyning
'them at the end of her Back-bone, and that
'presently after he brought the two Feet so joyn-
'ed, so that the two Palms of her Hands touch'd
'the two out-sides of the Soles of her Feet; That
'she continued in that posture a great while with
'strange Tremblings, not touching the Ground
'but with her Belly; That being rais'd up, the
'Devil was once again commanded to come near
'to the Holy Sacrament, and to shew by his Coun-
'tenance the opposition there is between *Jesus*
'*Christ* and him; That thereupon, he shew'd
'such a rage which cannot be conceiv'd, if one
'had not seen it: *Ah!* said he, crying out, *It is*
'*impossible to shew it, there is too great a distance from*
'*the one to the other*; *That being ask'd what was that*
'*distance? It is*, said he, *an Epitome of all Goodness*,
'*and I of all Calamity*: That having utter'd these
'Words, he became again more furious, and disco-
'vered a great rage for what he had said, biting his
'Arms, and horribly distorting his Limbs round.

'That

'That the agitation ceas'd a little after, and 'that the Maid came perfectly to her self, having her Pulse no more mov'd, than if nothing extraordinary had past; But that almost at the same 'time that Father *Surin* spake to Monsieur, and 'that he went to finish the Exorcism, he felt the 'Assaults of *Isaacarum*, who threw him down 'twice, and shook his Arms and Legs with quakings and tremblings; That the Devil, constrain'd 'to retire by the Holy Sacrament which was 'apply'd to him, enter'd again upon a sudden 'into the Body of the Prioress, who was two 'paces from him, speaking to one of Monsieur's 'People, and in a moment he made her Visage 'horrible and furious, and that at the same time 'the Exorcist being again rais'd up, he went to 'combat with *Isaacarum*, of whom Father *Tranquille* demanded, whence he had the boldness to 'torment the Father? He answer'd in a rage, addressing himself to Father *Surin*, *It is to revenge me of thee.* That then having receiv'd a command to retire, and to leave the Prioress free, 'he obey'd, and that so there was an end put 'to the Exorcism. The same Relation imports 'further, that Monsieur having seen what past 'at the Exorcisms on *Wednesday* in the Evening, 'and all *Thursday*, his Highness, to demonstrate the 'satisfaction which he had receiv'd, gave the next 'day the following Attestation.

We, Gaston, *Son of* France, *Duke of* Orleans, *do certifie, that during two days having assisted at the Exorcisms which were made in the Churches of the* Ursulines *and St. Cross in the Town of* Loudun, *upon the Persons of the Sisters* Jane des Agnes, Ann de St. Agnes, Claire de Sazilli, Ursuline Nuns, *and of* Elizabeth Blanchard *a secular Maid. We*

have seen and observ'd many Actions and strange Motions, surpassing the natural Powers, namely at the Communion of the said Elizabeth Blanchard, *have seen the Holy Host abiding upon her Lips altogether dry, notwithstanding a vehement blast from her Mouth, which Host having been swallowed down by the said* Blanchard, *at the command of the Father Exorcist, the said Host has been brought up out of the bottom of her Stomach, and laid upon the Tongue of the said* Blanchard, *after she was made to drink Water, and searched if any thing were in her Mouth, which was done three several times, by command given to the Devil nam'd* Astarot. *All which we have judg'd to be super-natural; And having moreover desir'd to have an exact sign of the real Possession of those Maids, we did agree secretly, and in a low voice with the Father* Tranquille Capucin, *to command the Devil* Sabulon, *who actually possess'd the said Sister* Claire, *that he should go and kiss the Right-hand of Father* Elizee *her Exorcist; the said Devil as punctually obey'd according to our desire, which has made us assuredly believe, that what the Fryers performing in the Exorcisms of the said Maids, have told us of the Possession, is true, there being no appearance that such Motions and Knowledge of Secret Things, could be ascribed to human Powers. Whereof being willing to give a Testimony to the Publick, We have granted this present Attestation, which we have sign'd with our Hand, and caus'd to be subsign'd by the Secretary of our Commands, House, and Finances of* France, *the* 11*th day of* May 1635. *Sign'd* Gaston, *and lower* Goulas.

‘ Monsieur, says also the Author of the Re-
‘ lation, having given this Attestation, and left
‘ to the *Ursulines* illustrious Marks of his Liberality

'ty, as well as of the Judgment he made of them, 'wherein he was imitated by the chief of his 'Court, went to hear Mass in the Church of 'the Fathers Carmelites, and having been told 'that for seven or eight Months there was kept 'an Host, upon which there was seen Blood, 'when *Elizabeth Blanchard* had it upon her Lips, 'he desir'd to see it and adore it; For that pur-'pose Father *Peter Thomas* Carmelite took it in 'his Hand, and a little while after commanded 'one of the Devils of *Elizabeth*, who was there 'present to tell whose was that Blood with which 'the Host seem'd stain'd, to whom the Devil, after 'several difficulties, contorsions, and agitations, 'answer'd in these Terms; *I adore a Man full 'of Charity, who is not contented to shed his Blood 'once for the Redemption of Sinners, but a second 'time has caus'd it miraculously to appear here for 'his Glory, and for the confusion of the Incredulous, 'and confirmation of Believers.* Upon which the 'Exorcist, seeing Monsieur very attentive to what 'pass'd, ask'd his Highness, if he would be pleas'd 'that some secret Sign should be prescrib'd to the De-'vil, for a proof of the Truth of what he had 'said, touching the miraculous Blood shed upon 'the Host; With which his Highness testifying 'that he should be well satisfied, he said to 'him in a low voice and in his Ear, that he 'would command the Devil to kiss his Cross, 'and his Stole on the right side, which the Fa-'ther did, not saying any thing to the Devil, 'but that he was to obey the intention of the 'Prince; and quickly after the Devil obey'd, 'discovering that he suffer'd great violence by 'that action, as by all others, whereby he is ob-'lig'd to bow under the Authority of the

Church. This [adds our Author] with what we have said before, made Monsieur say, that one must be a Fool not to believe the Possession of these Maids. But least one should wonder that the Devil heard a word which has been said in a low voice and in the Ear, he said, that the Devils which possess'd these Maids, answer'd often the Questions which were put to them by the Exorcists, without having exprest them otherwise than by the inward direction of their thought, of which he alledg'd some Examples; and because that is hard to believe, as being directly contrary to the Text of the *Holy Scripture*, he maintains, That one ought not to wonder, since the Devils and Angels speak only by the means of the inward Acts, which they form in themselves. At last, having related many other things upon this Subject, he says, That the very day of the arrival of Monsieur, a *Huguenot* Apothecary of *Loudun* named *James Boisse*, took upon him to speak to his Highness's Apothecary, and to pray him to come and lodge at his House, whither having conducted him, he entertain'd him with a discourse of the *Ursulines*, and assur'd him, that all which pass'd was but feign'd and an Imposture; that they had no other design, but that of putting *Grandier* to death, as they had done, and that there was in that Town a *Protestant* Maid, who, by the flexibleness of her Body, made contorsions and motions, as much if not more strange than those which were seen amongst the *Ursulines*. Whereupon Monsieur's Apothecary, who had seen the same Evening the prodigious Agitations and Postures of Sister *Agnes*, told him, that he could hardly believe it, and that he would advise

'him not to hold ſuch diſcourſe; for ſhould Mon-
'ſieur know that he ſpoke at this rate, it would
'be ſufficient to ruin him, as a Calumniator;
'To whom *Boiſſe* reply'd, that he was ready to
'maintain in his Highneſs's preſence what he
'had ſaid, and that he deſir'd no better; which
'Monſieur's Apothecary having made known the
'next day to his Highneſs, *Boiſſe* was preſently
'ſent for, and confirm'd before his Highneſs what
'he had ſaid the Evening before; but being
'urg'd to name and ſhew the Maid, whereof
'he ſpake, he ſaid, in Truth, he had not ſeen
'her, but that he had, what ſhe had ſaid, from
'a Chirurgeon nam'd *Fourneau*, profeſſing alſo
'the Proteſtant Religion. *Fourneau* being call'd,
'and aſk'd whether he had ſeen the Maid, he
'ſaid no; *Boiſſe* reply'd to him, that he had
'then known of her, what he had heard him ſay;
'*Fourneau* denied that again, and proteſted he
'knew nothing of it, that he had never ſpoken
'of it, and that it was a thing deviſed by him.
'Whereupon, they who were preſent, cry'd out
'againſt *Boiſſe*, that he deſerv'd to be whipt
'for having had the boldneſs to advance ſo noto-
'rious a falſhood in Monſieur's preſence; Who,
'to ſhew that he deſir'd to partake as well of the
'Title of *Juſt*, as he was a-kin by Blood to him
'who acquir'd it ſo lawfully, inſtead of cauſing
'him to be puniſh'd preſently, would obſerve
'the forms of Juſtice, and ſtraightway after that
'Action, being gone to hear Maſs in the Church
'of St. *Croſs*, his Highneſs told the King's Ad-
'vocate of *Loudun*, who was there preſent, that
'he would have this audacious Fellow chaſtis'd,
'ſending alſo the next day for the Lieutenant
'Criminal and the King's Attorney, to tell them

'the same thing; whereof *Boisse* having had notice, 'he thought it the best course for him to run 'away.

Sect. 16. When that Writing was publish'd, the Incredulous fail'd not to make their Reflections upon what it contain'd, as they had already done upon the others which preceded it. They maintain'd that Monsieur had been prepossess'd, and that his Devotion had been impos'd upon; That they had put upon him such Feats of Activity and Leggerdemain, as Juglers and Tumblers usually do upon the Stage or Rope, for such true Marks of Possession, as those are which are set down in the Ritual; That to blow and play with the Host upon the Lips, as *Elizabeth Blanchard* had done, which Action seem'd most astonishing to his Highness, was the most easie of all the other Illusions; and that upon the whole Matter it expos'd the Christian Religion to the Derision of Jews and Mahometans; That if his Highness had told his Secrets to any others than those Monks and Exorcists, or rather if he had kept them himself conceal'd in a Paper without imparting them to any Body, the Devils had not guessed them, but that there was such a Juggling amongst the Exorcists, that it cannot be doubted but they had agreed upon certain Signs to speak by, and to understand one another; That this Invention was not extraordinary, seeing that the very Children perform the like in their Pastimes, and know very well to speak, and to entertain themselves that way; But that his Highness having thought fit to rely upon the Honesty of the Fathers, he could not fail to be cheated by Masters so experienc'd, who had taken care to instruct and fashion such apt Scholars, for a long time together.

Sect. 17. The truth of the Matter, which concern'd *Boisse* the Apothecary, was, that a Maid bred up a Protestant, who out of Levity had embrac'd the *Roman* Religion, and had thrown her self into the Convent of the *Ursulines*, was there found fit to perform the part of a Person possess'd: And in effect she profited well by the care that was taken to instruct and prepare her: But just at the time of being produc'd in publick, she got away out of the Convent; and whether it were by a sincere return, or by a continuation of her Whimsies, she return'd to the Communion of the Protestant Church. As the managing of the Possessed was a continual matter of Entertainment and Conversation for People of all sorts and conditions, that Maid who was the friend of *Fourneau's* Wife, perform'd often in her presence, and of divers other Women, what postures, grimaces, and contorsions she had learnt, which were not at all inferior to those of the *Nuns*. *Fourneau* having been made acquainted with it by his Wife, had in confidence told it to *Boisse*, who made that ill use of it as has been related, and exposed himself to a danger, in which he was abandon'd by *Fourneau*, because the consequence of his imprudence did not seem to be so dangerous for him, as it would have been for that Maid, by the Spite and Resentment which all the Cabal of the Monks, and Confederates of the Possession, would have had against her, if it had been discover'd, and publish'd what she had done, and what she was able to do.

Sect. 18. But as those Actions and Motions, which were shew'd in the presence of the Duke of *Orleans*, were not ordinary, and might deceive the Eyes of some of those who have little

experience, or knowledge of what pass'd in the World; it will not perhaps be unserviceable to make here a small Abridgment of what was then printed upon that Subject.

The unfortunate *Grandier* had already said in his Case, That the Art of Man could do things more approaching to supernatural, than all that which had been seen done by the *Nuns*; He cited for a Witness *Philip Camerarius* in his Historical Meditations, *Chap.* 75. and another Historian, who relates many surprizing things which a *Polander* did at the time of the Circumcision of the Son of *Amurath*. How many Rope-Dancers, added he, and other such like People, Men and Women, do perform things extraordinary? Which however are done by Art, and are far worthier of admiration, than any of those that have been perform'd by those Maids. *Duncan* expresseth himself in his Book in these Words; 'What has there been supernatural in all this? There needs no more 'than the Testimony of St. *Augustine* to condemn 'rash Judgments, and those who are so bold as to 'set bounds to the power of Nature; possibly 'it will have more Efficacy upon the Exorcist 'and other Friars, than if it had been taken out 'of the Writings of *Aristotle*, *Hyppocrates* and '*Galen*. That Father in the 24th *Chap.* of the '14th Book of the *City of God*, declares, that he 'knew People, who made their Bodies to perform things, which other Men would hardly 'believe. That there were some who mov'd their 'Ears, and others who made their Hair to fall 'down upon their Fore-head, and rais'd them up 'again without moving their Heads; Others who 'so exactly imitated the Voices of living Creatures, that one could not have been able to

'know

'know the Deceit, without having ſeen them: 'Others who made a ſtrange noiſe ſo long a 'time as they pleas'd, and ſeem'd to ſing from 'behind them: Others who ſhed Tears in an 'extraordinary abundance. That there was a 'Man who could ſweat whenſoever he would; 'That a pretended Prophet, nam'd *Reſtitutus*, 'fell into an Extaſy as often as he pleas'd, and 'that he remain'd without breathing like a dead 'Perſon, in ſuch manner that he was prick'd 'and pinch'd, and ſometimes had Fire apply'd 'to divers parts of his Body, without any 'ſigns that he was ſenſible of it. That Author 'adds, That no Body would have admir'd the 'motions of the *Nuns*, if they had been done 'by Jugglers and Tumblers upon the Stage; 'and that theſe *Nuns* had been inſtructed and 'practis'd to do them a far longer time, than 'moſt of theſe People employ'd to learn what 'they preſent to the Eyes of the Publick; But 'that however theſe Motions were not common 'to all theſe Maids; each of them perform'd 'only ſome particnlar ones, *viz.* thoſe for which 'ſhe was found moſt apt, whether it were by 'the Conformation and natural Diſpoſition of 'her Body, or by Exerciſe and Cuſtom; That 'if the Exorciſt had commanded the Superior to 'do what *Elizabeth Blanchard* and the Siſter '*Agnes* uſually did, he had not been obey'd; 'That not any of theſe Maids had rais'd her-'ſelf up into the Air, the height of two or three 'Pikes, and had not remain'd ſuſpended there 'ſome notable while; That none of them had flown 'or vaulted into the Air, or climb'd an upright 'Wall without a Ladder, or ſuch other help, 'or walk'd upon the Water without ſinking;

'In

'In which cases there would have been something more than humane; But that a Man must have a Mind wonderfully prepossess'd to believe, that to roll, vault, or crawl on the Ground is a thing supernatural; That they had not done any thing more surprizing, than it was to see a Man walking upon his Hands holding his Feet on high, which is however very common, and us'd for a Pastime by Children; That 'twas a thing strange enough to see that the Devils so obedient to the Exorcists when they commanded them to make contorsions, were not more readily driven out and expell'd by that wonderful Power which the Church had to make them obey, and that 'twas not made use of but to make a show to the People, to amuse them with trifles, to command one Devil to appear, and to make him retire having plaid his Part; and to call another, and cause him to do the same thing, instead of using that Power to drive away the Infernal Troop, and speedily to deliver the *Nuns*, whom they pretended to be tormented with so much violence.

Sect. 19. *Duncan* adds many other Reflections, drawn from the Conformation of a humane Body, and from the disposition of the Members, by which he makes it clearly appear, that the pretended Possess'd did not any supernatural Motions, as it would have been to shut the Hand outwards, so as one closeth it inward; To bend the Thighs backward, in such a manner that the Ham-strings might touch the Shoulders, *&c.* That all their Motions were only ordinary in themselves and owing either to the faculty of Nimbleness and Swiftness, or extraordinary Exten-

Extensions, such as a long Exercise, or a Disease, or violent Remedies might cause, whereof he cited some Examples, too long to be here related. It is more proper to mention some Questions which were then propos'd to the University of *Montpellier* by *Santerre* Priest, and Promoter of the Bishoprick and Diocess of *Nimes*, who had recourse to that Remedy, when he saw that the contagious Air of *Loudun* began to spread it self to *Languedoc.*

Sect. 20. The design of the Cabal of Monks, and some over-zealous Catholicks, being to authorize, as much as it was possible, the Propositions whereof there has been mention made before, tending to establish a kind of Inquisition upon the Testimony of Devils, they thought to find a good Advancement in it, by the Success of the Possession at *Loudun*, and judg'd it fit to make possessed Persons appear in a great many places of the Realm at a time, and to cause them to speak the same Language. *Jane de Ruede* of the Village of *Blast* near *Tournon*, gave out that she was possess'd by four Devils, *Beelzebub*, *Barrabas*, *Guilmon*, and *Carmin*, which were sent to her by a Wizzard and a Witch of the same Country: She was brought to be exorcis'd in the Chappel of our Lady of *Roquefort*, famous for the Miracles which were wrought there: But *Mazarin*, then Vice-legat of the Pope in *Avignon*, whereon the Chappel depended, not being of the same Opinion, as the greatest part of the Ecclesiasticks of *France*, he enjoin'd Silence to the Exorcists and Person possess'd; and the Devils obey'd far better the Orders of that sort, which were given with the Threats of the Civil Power, than those which had been made them by the Authority of the Church. *Santerre* being not of humour to be engaged in the Diabolical

bolical Commerce of the Possession, which they would have establish'd in the Diocess of *Nimes*, he examin'd the Possess'd, their Postures and Contorsions, which were the same that were made at *Loudun*, as one may infer by the reading of the Questions following: And he consulted afterwards the University with intent to support and authorize his Sentiment, to evidence to the Publick what they ought to think of the Possessions that were in vogue, and to repel the Complaints and Reproaches which he must have undergone from the Monks and Bigots, whom he went directly to encounter, by opposing their Intrigues in his Diocess, to nip the Bud of that infernal Seed, before it had time to sprout and spread deep Roots.

QUESTI-

QUESTIONS

Propos'd to the University of *Montpelier*.

QUESTION I.

Sect. 21. 'WHether the bending, bowing, and 'removing of the Body, the Head 'touching sometimes the Soles of the Feet, with 'other Contorsions, and strange Postures, are a good 'Sign of Possession?

ANSWER I.

'Vaulters and Tumblers make such strange 'Motions, and bend and bow themselves in 'so many Fashions, that one may believe that 'there is no kind of Posture, of which Men 'and Women may not render themselves capa-'ble by diligent Study and long Practice, being 'even able to make extraordinary Extensions, and 'spreading out of the Legs, Thighs, and other 'parts of the Body, because of the Extension of 'Nerves, Muscles, and Tendons, by long Custom; 'therefore such Operations may be done by the 'Power of Nature.

QUESTION II.

Sect. 22. 'Whether the quickness of the Motion 'of the Head forward and backward, bringing it

to

'to the Back and Breast, be an infallible Mark of 'Possession?

ANSWER II.

'That Motion is so natural, that one needs not 'add Reasons to those which have been said up-'on the Motions of the Parts of the Body.

QUESTION III.

Sect. 23. 'Whether a sudden swelling of the 'Tongue, the Throat, and the Face, and the sud-'den alteration of the Colour, are certain Marks 'of Possession?

ANSWER III.

'The lifting up, and agitation of the Breast by Fits 'and Starts, are the effects of drawing and holding 'the Breath, being ordinary Actions of breathing, 'from which one cannot infer any Possession. The 'swelling of the Throat may proceed from holding 'of the Breath, and that of other Parts from Melan-'choly Vapours, which are often seen to wander 'through all the parts of the Body: Whence it 'follows, that this Sign of Possession is not to be 'allow'd.

QUESTION IV.

Sect. 24. 'Whether Dulness and Senselesness, 'or the privation of Sense, even to be pinch'd and 'prick'd, without complaining, without stirring, 'and even without changing Colour, are certain 'Marks of Possession?

AN-

ANSWER IV.

'The young *Lacedemonian* who ſuffer'd his Li-
'ver to be knaw'd by a Fox which he had ſtoll'n, 'without making any ſhew of feeling him, and 'thoſe who ſuffer'd themſelves to be ſcourg'd be-'fore the Altar of *Diana*, even to Death, without 'knitting their Brows, ſhew that Reſolution may 'well enable one to endure the Pricks of a Pin 'without crying out: Beſides, it is certain, that in 'a Humane Body there is in ſome Perſons certain 'little parts of Fleſh, which are without feeling, 'although the other parts which are about them 'are ſenſible, which moſt commonly happens 'by ſome precedent Diſeaſe. Therefore ſuch an 'Effect is equivocal to prove a Poſſeſſion.

QUESTION V.

Sect. 25. 'Whether the *Immobility* of all the Bo-'dy, which happens to the pretended Poſſeſſed by 'the command of their Exorciſts, during and in the 'middle of the ſtrongeſt Agitations, is a certain 'Sign of a truly Diabolical Poſſeſſion?

ANSWER V.

'The Motion of the Parts of the Body being vo-'luntary, it is natural to Perſons well diſpos'd to 'move themſelves, or not to move themſelves, ac-'cording to their Will. Therefore ſuch an Effect, 'or Suſpenſion of Motion, is not conſiderable to 'infer a Diabolical Poſſeſſion, if in the *Immobi-'lity* there has not been an entire privation of Senſe.

QUESTION VI.

Sect. 26. 'Whether the Yelping or Barking like 'that of a Dog, in the Breast, rather than in the 'Throat, is a Mark of Possession?

ANSWER VI.

'*Humane* Industry is so pliant to counterfeit all 'kinds of Actions, that there are daily seen Per'sons expert in expressing exactly the Actions, the 'Cry, and the Voice of all sorts of Animals, and 'in imitating them without moving their Lips but 'unperceivably: There are found also very many 'who form Words and Voices in the Stomach, which 'seem rather to come from elsewhere, than from 'the Person who forms them after that manner; 'and they call those People *Engastrimuthi*, or *En'gastrologi*; *i. e.* those that *speak in their Bellies.* 'Therefore such an Effect is natural, as *Pasquier* 'observes in the 38th Chapter of his Inquiries, by 'the Example of a Buffoon nam'd *Constantine.*

QUESTION VII.

Sect. 27. Whether a fix'd steady Look upon some 'Object, without moving the Eye on either side, 'be a good Mark of Possession?

ANSWER VII.

'The Motion of the Eye is voluntary, as that of 'other parts of the Body; and 'tis natural to move 'it, or to keep it fix'd: Therefore there is nothing 'considerable in this.

QUESTI-

QUESTION VIII.

Sect. 28. 'Whether the Answers that the preten-
'ded Possessed make in *French*, to some Questions
'that are put to them in *Latin*, are a good Mark
'of Possession?

ANSWER VIII.

'We affirm, that to understand and speak the Languages, which one has never learn'd, are things Supernatural, and which might make one believe that they are done by the Ministry of the Devil, or of some other Superiour Cause: But to answer to some Questions only, that is altogether Suspicious; a long Exercise, or a private Intelligence between Persons, being able to contribute to such Answers; it seeming to be a Dotage to say, that the Devils understand Questions which are put to them in *Latin*, and that they always answer in *French*, and in the natural Language of that Person whom they would make pass for Possessed. Whence it follows, that from such an Effect the Residence of a Devil cannot be inferred, most especially if the Questions do not contain many Words and many Discourses.

QUESTION IX.

Sect. 22. 'Whether to vomit such things as Peo-
'ple have swallow'd, be a Sign of Possession?

ANSWER IX.

'*Delrio*, *Bodin*, and other Authors say, that by 'Witchcraft Wizards do sometimes cause Nails, 'Pins, and other strange things to be vomited by 'the Work of the Devil: So that in the really pos-'sessed the Devil can do the same thing. But to 'vomit the things as they have swallow'd, that is 'natural, there being found Persons who have a 'weak Stomach, and who keep for many Hours 'what they have swallow'd, and then cast them up 'again as they took them; and the Disease call'd 'the *Lienteria* rendring the Aliments through the 'Fundament, as they had been taken by the Mouth, 'without any alteration, is a fuller Proof of it.

QUESTION X.

Sect. 30. 'Whether the Prickings of a Launcet 'upon divers parts of the Body, without Blood is-'suing thence, are a certain Mark of Possession?

ANSWER X.

'That ought to be attributed to the Disposition 'of a melancholick Temper, the Blood whereof 'is so thick, that it cannot issue out through so 'little Wounds; and 'tis for that Reason that ma-'ny being prick'd even in the Veins and natural 'Vessels, by the Launcet of a Chyrurgeon, bleed 'not one drop, as 'tis seen by Experience: There-'fore there is nothing extraordinary in it.

Sect. 31. That Question made it appear, that there happen'd things as surprizing in the Possessi-

ons

ons of other Countries as in that of *Loudun*, where this last Effect has not been observ'd, and to which it can have no relation, seeing that there is nothing alike, either in the printed Books, or Manuscripts of that time. Nevertheless the Possession in the Diocess of *Nimes*, where that pretended Miracle was done, has not been truer, nor judg'd such, because the Promoter of that Diocess had more Modesty and Honesty than many other Ecclesiasticks of his time.

Sect. 32. These are the Decisions of the University of *Montpellier*, which have been here related to shew of what Nature those Miracles were which past in the presence of the Duke of *Orleans*. To which may be added further, to omit nothing which may not be alogether clear, and that the quiet and repos'd condition of the Possess'd at the end of their Agitations, where they seem'd to have suffer'd nothing, and where their Countenance recover'd in an instant its natural Form, is so far from being a good Proof of a true Possession, that 'tis an evident Mark of the contrary, seeing that 'tis not the Custom of Devils to be contented to do feats of Activity, by the Bodies which they possess, and to leave them afterwards sound, well dispos'd, and free from Pains. The Gospel teacheth, that these terrible Guests made some of the Possess'd deaf and dumb; that they caus'd others to fall into the Fire and the Water; that they made others to foam at the Mouth, or made them wither'd and consumptive, or tormented them as if they would break or tear them in pieces, and after the Agitations and Torments they left them feeble and tir'd, and sometimes half dead. So that there has been reason to conclude that the Motions which begin and end at the Will of an Exorcist, *jubentis aut prohibentis*, commanding or

ſorbidding, as the Book of *Demonomany* mentions, are Motions ſtudied, concerted, and done out of a Deſign, and that they who do them, being far from the being poſſeſs'd by Devils, they poſſeſs themſelves ſo well that they ſtop and return to their natural State as ſoon as they pleaſe. *Duncan* aſſures that the ſame thing happen'd in his Preſence, and that in publick, upon the Stage, where a young Maid turn'd about for half an hour with ſo wonderful a ſwiftneſs, that the Sight was troubled to follow it; then ſhe ſtopt all on a ſuddain, and made her Courteſie with ſo good a Grace, and ſo calm an Air, as if ſhe had continued always ſtill.

Sect, 33. It were but to tire the Reader, to make all the Reflections that offer themſelves upon the behaviour of the pretended Poſſeſs'd, and to relate all the examples of the Jugling Tricks, and other Actions counterfeit or natural, far more wonderful than thoſe of the pretended Devils, which are contain'd in the Books of the Fathers of the Church, and in thoſe of a great number of Authors ancient and modern. 'Tis therefore much better to reſume the Order of things which paſt in that accurſed and abominable Intrigue at *Loudun*.

Sect. 34. The Expectations of a great Repute had doubtleſs flatter'd the *Nuns*, but they were not leſs touch'd with the hope of Plenty and Wealth, of which they were deſtitute. Their Expectation was not deceived; Their Reputation had flown into all Quarters, although it was not in a manner ſo advantagious as they were perſuaded; And they were from that time freed of their Indigence by the officious care of the Exorciſts, and by their ſollicitations to Perſons pious, credulous and charitable. The Author of the *Demonomany* ſaith, 'That

'Alms

'Alms were ſent them from all Parts, and that if 'they had not receiv'd a ſufficient Charity, they 'would make a Gathering for them in the Towns. The Generoſity of the Nobility of the firſt Rank, and above all that of the Duke of *Orleans*, and all his Court, as we have ſeen before, put them altogether into a wealthy Condition. But that was not yet enough; all this was done but by the way of Perſuaſion, or by the Motions of Compaſſion and Charity, which were only commendable, and which did not ſuit with the Character of the Commiſſary, nor with that of the Authors of the Contrivance, nor with that of the Exorciſts who directed it. To fill up theſe Characters, and to bring by little and little the Work towards the principal End which was propos'd, they began to declare War againſt the *Proteſtants*, and to inveſt themſelves with their Spoils. The Proteſtants enjoy'd one part of the Church-yard of *Loudun*, which after many conteſtations had been left them by *Rochefort*, and ſince confirm'd by *Mangot* and *Douville*, all three Commiſſaries of the King in that behalf, ſucceſſively and at divers times. But *Laubardemont* by Virtue of a Commiſſion obtain'd upon falſe Informations, took from them that Poſſeſſion, and depriv'd them of their Right, by a Sentence which he gave the 23d. of *January* 1634. permitting them by a particular favour, to buy with their own Money ſome Gardens for their Burying-place. He order'd alſo the Proteſtant Inhabitants, who had Houſes in thoſe Streets thro' which the Proceſſion was to paſs, upon the Feſtival call'd *Corpus Chriſti day*, to hang and adorn the Front of their Houſes, and alſo commanded them and the Conſiſtory to take care of the Execution of the ſaid Order againſt each of them in particular, who were not obedient, upon the Penalty

of 500 Livres Fine, and suspension of their Offices, if they had any, and the interdiction of the Exercise of their Religion within the Town and Suburbs: Which Order the Protestants vigorously oppos'd in consequence of the secret Articles of the Edict of *Nants*, and they could not be induc'd to obey it, neither by the Intrigues which were imploy'd for that purpose, nor by the Threats which they made use of to terrifie them. They were again sent for another time by the same Commissary, who order'd them to assist at the Exorcisms, which they refus'd to do, as well because of the Places where they exorcis'd, as the Ceremonies which they us'd during the Exorcisms, and of the use which they made there of the Sacrament; which oblig'd the Assistants to pay those Respects, to which their Conscience could not submit. *Laubardemont* told them that they were afraid to be convinc'd by the Evidence of Truth to give Glory to God, and to acknowledge the Possession; To which they reply'd, that supposing that the Possession was true, it would no ways prejudice them, nor their Religion, and that so the fear to be oblig'd to own it, would not give them so much trouble as he imagin'd. *But however*, said the Commissary to them, *if the Possession were acknowledg'd, one might infer thence divers Conclusions in favour of the Roman Religion, and against the Doctrine of Protestants. If it were permitted us to write*, answer'd *James de Brissac Sieur Desloges*, one of the Ministers, *there is nothing in the World more easie, than to prove that the Possession does not establish at all the Roman Religion, nor that it destroys that of the Reformed. Why do not you write then?* reply'd Laubardemont, *Who is it that hinders you? The Threats that were made to Mr.* Duncan, answer'd the Minister, *and the Displeasure which we are told that Court and your Lordship have shewed against*

against him; But if you please to grant us liberty under your Hand, you shall quickly have the satisfaction to judge of our Reasons, and the Publick may judge of them likewise. But, said he, *your design would be possibly to oppose the Possession, and 'tis that which cannot be tolerated, after that the Question has been judg'd in a legal Manner. We will suppose the Possession*, reply'd the Minister, *and the intent of the Writing will be only, that the Roman Catholicks cannot draw thence any advantage against the Protestants.* Most of the Roman Catholicks there present, amongst whom was the Marquiss *de la Rochepozai*, would have been glad that the permission which the Minister desir'd might be allow'd him, but *Laubardemont*, who perceiv'd well the consequences, and who would not expose the Propositions of the Exorcist to the Confutation of the Ministers, sent them away without allowing them that liberty.

Sect. 35. The Protestants who [by Virtue of the Edict of *Nants*] had a Right to keep little Schools for the instruction of Youth, and the Right whereof had been confirm'd by the Commissaries of the King, and by the Decree of the Parliament of the 30th of *August*. 1613. had in their Possession a pretty large House, wherein they caused the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongue to be taught. That House seem'd convenient to lodge the *Nuns* of St. *Ursula*, who yet liv'd in an hir'd House: And 'twas believ'd that 'twould not be difficult to take it from its Owners, and to put it into the Hands of the *Nuns*. For that purpose *James Denieau* the King's Attorney in the Commission which concern'd the Affair of the Possession at *Loudun*, remonstrated to *Laubardemont* the 18th of *January* 1634. that the Lodging of the *Ursulines* was inconvenient, because of the smalness of its Extent; That they could not perform there the Exorcisms

Exorcisms but with much difficulty, and that there was not in the Town a sufficient number of Churches to Exorcise conveniently, by Reason of the great concourse of People, who came in Crouds from all Parts to assist thereat. But that the Reformed, to whom it was not permitted to keep Schools, had a Colledge, which was a large House, and was very fit for the Reception of these *Nuns*; That he requested that it would please *Laubardemont* to go thither and visit it; and then order what he should think good. The Commissary agreed to go thither, which he did the very same day, with *Denieau*. He found in the Colledge but two Regents, who told them that the Sieurs *Desloges* Minister, and *Martin* Counsellor of the Bailiwick, were the Directors of it: He order'd that these Directors should be appointed to appear before him, that the matter might be determin'd according to the Conclusions of the King's Attorney. They appear'd but would not acknowledge *Laubardemont* for a competent Judge, as not having any Commission for that purpose; however he omitted not to make some Procedures, and to give some Orders, notwithstanding the refusal made by them. Whereupon the Protestants signified that they appeal'd from his Orders, as being an incompetent Judge, and that they took upon them the Defence in their own Private Names: And to prevent all other Proceedings which he might make thereafter, they sent Deputies to *Paris* to complain to the King, and to maintain their Right. In prejudice thereof *Laubardemont* gave the 29th of *January* a Sentence, importing, *That whereas the Protestants have establish'd a Colledge without the King's Permission, and to the Prejudice of his Edicts, he commands them to clear the House of the said Colledge of the Bodies and Goods, and to put the Keys into the Hands*

of

of the King's Attorney, three days after the intimation of the present Order; and that the said time being past, they shall be compell'd thereto whatsoever opposition or Appeals notwithstanding. That Order was signified the day following, and they caus'd all the Ecclesiasticks, and Religious Orders of the Town to prepare to make a solemn Procession, and to conduct the *Ursulines* with pomp, and, as it were, in triumph into the House of the Protestants, where in case they refus'd to let them in, they purpos'd to break the Doors open. The Protestants went to *Laubardemont* and remonstrated, That assoon as they should have understood by their Deputies the King's pleasure, they would wholly submit to it, and that they besought him to grant them so much time. Upon the refusal which he made, they signified to him their new Protestations, Appeals, *&c.* and afterwards went to the ordinary Officers of *Loudun*, before whom they made a long Verbal Process, containing all their Reasons and their Offers to obey the Will of the King, when it should be made known to them. Upon this the Catholick Officers fearing that the Populace would raise some tumult prejudicial to their Interests and to the Town in general, they sent to desire of the Commissary a Delay for eight days, but he granted them but four, which he after revok'd the same day, and the 4th of *February* the Provost of *Thouars* came to *Loudun* with all his Company of Guards; which having caus'd much uneasiness to the more moderate Inhabitants of both Religions, and to all those who desir'd to live in Peace, the Lieutenant *Civil* and the Judge of the Provostship made many Proposals to each Party, to oblige the Protestants to sell their House, and the *Nuns* to buy it: But that was not the design of those Ladies, nor what was promis'd them. So the Ma-

strates

gistrates having not succeeded in that Negotiation, they saw all the Town in trouble and tumult; for as they knew the imperious and violent Humour of *Laubardemont*, they judg'd that he would not easily relinquish his design. In effect the Provost of *Thouars* made himself ready to go with his Guards into that House, but they met in the Streets the Protestant Women of all Qualities and Ages, with their Aprons full of Sand and Ashes, which they pretended to cast into the Eyes, to blind, as much as it should be possible for them, all those that should attempt to go and force the Colledge; Whilst their Husbands, who had understood that there were come from *Poitiers* 800 Men, besides all the Marshalseas of the neigbouring Towns, were in an extream Consternation, being uncertain of the Issue that an Affair of that Consequence might have. But *Laubardemont* seeing that it took such a Course, and finding in the Protestants more Obstinacy than *Mennau* the King's Advocate, and the rest of his Adherents had made him believe, he probably fear'd that that Attempt which be had made without any Order of the Court, should be disavow'd; and so durst not proceed to Extremities. However it was, he sent away the Provost of *Thouars*, and caus'd not the others to come, according to the Threats he had made. In the mean while he drew up a bloody Verbal Process against the *Protestants*, and caus'd Informations to be made full of Calumnies and odious Imputations. The Lieutenant Criminal made also one on his part, upon the Demand of the King's Attorney; and 'twas hop'd by one or other of these Informations, wherein the *Protestants* were strangely aspers'd and blacken'd, they would reduce them to ask for Favour, and to offer gladly what they had denied with

with ſo much reſiſtance and reſolution. They did not fail on their part to take care of themſelves, by preſenting their Petition to the Chamber of the *Edict*, where they obtain'd a Decree the 8th of *February*, which imports, *That the Court receiv'd their Appeal from the Procedure made by* Laubardemont, *who was forbid to proceed further in the execution of his Order, till they had taken Cognizance of that Matter, upon the Penalty of Nullity of the Proceedings, and of all the Coſts, Damages, and Intereſts.* This Decree having been ſignified to the Commiſſary *Denieau*, the Lieutenant Civil, and the Judge of the Provoſtſhip, with a Summons to appear at the Court, *Lauberdemont* departed the 15th of *February*, to go to *Paris*, and carried the Informations of the Lieutenant Criminal, and the Verbal Proceſſes which he himſelf had made; wherein he charg'd the *Proteſtants* with having caus'd a Sedition and popular Commotion. He fail'd not to be favourably receiv'd and heard by Cardinal *de Richelieu*, and by the King's Council; where all he had done was approv'd of, and confirm'd by a Decree, with Prohibitions to the Parliament to take Cognizance of that Affair, and with a command to the *Proteſtants* to obey the Orders and Edicts of *Laubardemont*, of the 29th of *January*, and the 3d of *February*, and all that ſhould be ordain'd by him, touching the Buſineſs of the Colledge. There was alſo a Commiſſion diſpatched to *d'Etampes*, Maſter of the Requeſts, to proceed to a new Information; and he had a Warrant of Impriſonment granted againſt ſix of the principal *Proteſtants*, which caſt them all into great trouble; whereunto the return of their Deputies from *Paris* did not put a ſtop; for they underſtood that the Court was prepoſſeſs'd againſt them to ſuch a degree, that they would not conſent to

grant

grant any Audience to those who demanded it on their behalf; and that they had condemn'd them without hearing. Upon this they sent again new Deputies, some whereof having rid Post, confirm'd what the former related, and said, that they were advised to consent to a voluntary Sale of the House in Question. But they resolved rather to suffer it to be taken by Force, than to receive the Price which had been offer'd for it; which was so low, that the Offer might rather pass for an Insult on the part of their Enemies, than for a serious Proposal of Persons, who, in good earnest, sought for an Accommodation. In the mean while the Deputies who had remain'd at *Paris*, writ that the Marquiss *du Rivau* had in his Hand a Letter of Privy-Seal, by which he was commanded to disarm the *Protestants* of the Town of *Loudun*; That he was to depart from *Paris* for that purpose, and that *Loubardemont* would come back with him; which he did not however so suddenly; and during that time, *Regnier*, and *Dumoutier Bourneuf*, who were of the number of the Six, against whom he had caused a Warrant to be decreed to seize their Persons, surrendred themselves in the Prison of *Fort l'Eveque*, where they were heard and interrogated, whether there had not been a popular Commotion at *Loudun*; and if it had not been resolv'd before to make it, in an Assembly held by the *Protestants*, where the Ministers had assisted? Whereunto having answer'd very pertinently, they were at first set at liberty under Bail; and some days after their Sureties were discharg'd, and they dismist.

Sect. 36. At length, the 5th day of *December*, *Laubardemont* being return'd to *Loudun*, signified the Decree of the Council of State abovementioned, dated the 23d of *May*; to which the *Protestants* by a

Verbal

Verbal Proceſs having offer'd to obey, with a Proteſtation to addreſs themſelves by their moſt humble Remonſtrance to his Majeſty, againſt that Decree which had been granted without their being heard or call'd, they deliver'd the Keys of the Houſe, and the Nuns were put into poſſeſſion of it, and made very quickly after other Purchaſes of ſome neighbouring Houſes, and the neareſt Gardens: And ſince that time they have added ſuch conſiderable Room, rais'd ſo many Buildings in their Convent, and bought ſo many Tythes, Rents, and other Lands and Demains in the Country, that one may be aſſur'd, that not only their pretended Diabolical Poſſeſſion has put them out of the State of Indigence, wherein they were, but that their Houſe may at this Day paſs for one of the richeſt Communities of their Order.

Sect. 37. The noiſe which that Affair made, had drawn all the Attention of the People; and the Devils, who ſeem'd to have no other end than to divert and pleaſe them, ſeeing them thereby drawn off from the Contemplation of the Miracles of the Poſſeſſion, continued quiet, and took that time to recover their paſt Labour, and to prepare themſelves for new Endeavours at the return of *Laubardemont*, their famous Protector, who caus'd them to underſtand, that he would ſhortly return to favour and ſhelter them with his Authority. Father *Surin*, whoſe Direction had not yet produc'd any thing extraordinary, except in his own Perſon, found it convenient, while they expected the Commiſſary, to raiſe by ſome Miracle the Reputation of the Exorciſms, which began to diminiſh. There remain'd in the Body of the Superior, four Devils, *Leviathan*, *Behemot*, *Balaam*, and *Iſaacarum*, after the Expulſion of the three others, *Aſmodee*, *Aman*, and *Greſil*,

which had been effected by Virtue of the Exorcisms of Father *Lactance*. The Jesuit attempted not to drive them out all at once, for it was of too great importance to cause always the best Actresses to appear upon the Stage; and he accounted it much better to use moderately the Authority of the Church, in not delivering altogether that poor possess'd Person according to the Power which he had, and according to which Charity seem'd to require it, than to suffer the most famous of the Possess'd to retire, who could best of all impose upon the Eyes of the Publick. 'Twas therefore resolv'd to expel only *Leviathan* at that time, who was an eloquent Devil, and who sometimes made long discourses, as it appeard in a Book intituled, *The Glory of St.* Joseph, *&c.* printed at *Saumur* by *Lewis Mace*, second Edition; In which this Devil is made to say, 'That his principal business was to hinder 'the Love of God to his Creatures, and that of the 'Creatures to God; That in that employment he 'suffered a new Hell, because he could not prevent, 'but that some would advance towards God; 'That he was very unfortunate in being come to '*Loudun* to act the *Nun*; That they made him fast in 'spite of his Teeth, and wear Sackcloth, and that this 'was worse to him yet than a Hell; That he would 'long since have quitted the Body of the Superior, 'if God had not constrain'd him to continue there; 'That he had made it all along his Business to possess Bodies, but that he never was so much molested in any other as in that: To which the Author 'of the Book adds, That he was to be pursued with 'great Application of Spirit, through all the Faculties and Operations of the Soul, where he had 'insinuated and intrench'd himself, fortifiying himself in the natural Inclinations, and the Roots of

'Im-

'Imperfection, in which he maintains himself as
'in his own Territories; That when he had lost one
'Intrenchment, he entred into another; That
''twas necessary to seek him every where, and to
'root him out by little and little; That he made
'then great complaints and cry'd out, *Thou takest*
from me my Nest, where shall I be now? Meaning
'by that Nest, not great Failures, but petty Faults,
'which others would call Virtues; That this De-
'vil resisted the designs of the Exorcists, one while
'by violence, exercising cruelties, which God per-
'mitted him for her greater Merit, and another
'while by Craft, making use of his rights of Temp-
'tation and Possession; That they had experiment-
'ed against him the Assistance of the Holy Guar-
'dian Angels, and that of Providence, and that
'with incredible Labour they were assisted by
'Grace against Nature supported by *Satan*; That
'this Conflict had continued several Months, and
'that they had seen with admiration the things
'which pass'd in the Secret of Hearts, to become
'sensible and visible; That at last the Devil had
'yielded, choosing rather to be dismist, than kept
'in possession, seeing that his House was chang'd
'into a Prison. That Book imports further, That
'the Possession of *Loudun* was one of the strangest
'and delicatest that had ever been seen; That 'twas
'founded upon the Operation of Magick, and up-
'on the Wicked usage of the Liberty of Men,
'to which God condescended very much, respect-
'ing the Free-will of his Creatures; That the Prin-
'cipal design of the Magicians was to conceal the
'residence of Devils in those Bodies, and that for
'these reasons the exterior effects which were seen
'in other Possessions, and were supported by the
'Power of *Satan* alone, were neither so numerous,
'nor so great.

Sect. 38. That Devil having been expell'd, they gave notice of it to the Bishop of *Poitiers* by a Letter, to which they added the Extract of the Verbal Process of the Exorcisms; whereof this is the Copy.

'*Monday* the 5th of *November* 1635. after the 'Devil nam'd *Issaacarum*, one of the four possessing 'the Mother Prioress, had made this Adoration to 'the Holy Sacrament in the Church of the *Ursulines*, 'where the Reverend Father *Surin* of the Society of '*Jesus* exorcis'd him, the Body of the Possess'd 'has been suddenly rais'd upon her Feet, and *Leviathan*, chief of all the Troop of the Possession, 'appear'd on a sudden in the Place of the said *Issaacarum*, manifesting himself by disdainful frowning 'and proud Gate as of a Queen, with a very fair 'and shining Countenance: Whereupon the Exorcist speaking *Latin*, according to his Custom, 'said, *Here's a Devil who makes himself a Beau, but 'for the Glory of God and the Edification of Souls, I 'intend presently to make him shew his ugliness and deformities*; And the Hymn *Gloria &c.* having been 'sung to that end, the Body of the said Prioress 'was cast to the Ground, shewing a very hideous 'and frightful Visage, with strange contorsions in 'all her Members, turning her Face towards the 'Earth, that it might not be seen, and then lifting 'up her self with a very majestick Countenance, 'went and set her self proudly in a Chair, nodding 'her Head with Gravity, and seeming to desire 'to say something; But the Exorcist having constrain'd her by a speedy command to humble her 'self and to cast her self on the Ground, asking the 'Devil if it were not true that *Jesus Christ* had vanquish'd him in that Maid, and by her answer'd 'with Blasphemy in a doleful tone, and a dejected 'look, *It is but too true for me.* Moreover being

'urg'd

urg'd again to finish his Adoration, he cast himself at the Feet of the Father, rolling himself along with frightful Agitations, embracing them divers times, and whilst the *Magnificat*, *&c.* was sung, she extended her Arms and Hands, making them become streight and stiff, and her Head lean'd on the Foot of the said Exorcist, upon the middle of the step of the Altar, she did turn it side-ways towards some of the Spectators, on the side of the Window, and shew'd a wound in form of a Cross, Blood dropping from it of a fresh and Vermillion Colour; the first and second Skin which they call the *Dermis* and *Epidermis* were scratch'd and a little open'd, and that Cross was near of the same length that appears in this Figure.

Sect. 39. ‘At the same time the Father, who knew the Sign by the last going out of the chief Devil, promis'd and sign'd by the said *Leviathan* since the 17th. of *May* in the presence of the Lord Bishop of *Poitiers*, cry'd aloud, *Behold, Sirs, God be thanked, the sign of the Ejection,* Leviathan *is gone out*, and then the said Prioress appear'd on a sudden with a Countenance so modest and serene, and a Spirit so quiet and settled, that the Spectators well perceiv'd, notwithstanding the Blood which was upon her Fore-head, that indeed the Finger of God and the Ray of his Mercy was there, which oblig'd them to sing presently, with Tears of Joy, the Hymn *Te Deum*, &c.

'Thereupon the Exorcist being resolv'd to make 'Isaacarum appear again, and make him give an 'account of that Wound, and having sung to that 'end *Memento salutis Author*, &c. the said *Isaacarum* 'shew'd himself upon her Visage with a frightful 'aspect, then with an insolent Joy he cry'd aloud 'thrice, *I am now Master my self, I am now Master*. 'Being ask'd how? He answer'd, *That the chief is 'gone away*. Being urg'd whether he spake true, be'ing so great a Liar? He reply'd, *'Tis as true as 'that the Flesh of God is in that Tabernacle there*. Be'ing ask'd where is *Leviathan* at present? He an'swer'd, *What do I know? In Hell, I think*; Being 'demanded from whence came that sudden De'parture, he said, renouncing God as 'twas usual 'with him, *That he knew nothing*, adding, Joseph '*came, who has driven him away, intimating to him on 'the behalf of God, that there was now no longer time 'to resist the Ministers of the Church, and that he had 'triumph'd enough*. Finally, being urg'd to tell whe'ther the Bloody Cross which was on her Fore'head, was a wound by a Mans Hand? he said, '*No, and swore*. Upon which the Father Exor'cist declar'd succinctly three things to the Assist'ants, That the Prioress, by the advice which had 'been given her since the time he had begun to 'Exorcise her, had put her self under the special 'Protection of that Holy Patriarch; That for these 'two Months past, she had very much increas'd 'her devotion towards him; and that in fine two 'Days ago she had made a Vow to say the little 'Office of the Saint every day for the space of a 'Year. This Act is sign'd by the Register of the 'Commission, by *Laubardemont*, and by eight Ex'orcists, Jesuits, and Capucins, some Priests, Cu'rates and Nuns, and some Officers as well of the

"Baili-

'Bailiwick, as of the Province of the general Af-
'feſſors, and Office of Salt at *Loudun*.

Sect. 40. After ſuch a Verbal Proceſs ſo authentickly atteſted and ſign'd, can one doubt the truth of the Miracle? And was it not imprudence in the Incredulous to ſay, that the Nun might have made that Wound whilſt ſhe roll'd her ſelf, and that ſhe might have had an Iron Croſs hid in her Clothes, or in her Hands, which were at liberty, and have made a ſlight Wound, having not judg'd it fit to make a deeper? 'Tis true, that to ſupport that Suſpicion and their Prejudices, they alledg'd, that the Wounds made by the three former Devils, who were already gone out of the ſame poſſeſſed Perſon, having been ſuſpected, as it was clearly manifeſted, and even by a Writing, thoſe Devils, who ſeem'd to be ſo well diſpos'd, and to have a mind to confound the Incredulity of Gainſayers, ought to uſe more Precaution, and not to forget any Circumſtance which might have ſatisfied the Publick, and convinc'd them wholly of the truth of that Action. But would it have been reaſonable to give one ſelf ſo much trouble to ſatisfie the Whimſies of the Publick? What needed there more? One Devil had promis'd in the preſence of the Biſhop of *Poitiers*, a good while ago, he had now perform'd his promiſe: Another Devil ſerv'd for a Witneſs, he had made his Depoſition, and confirm'd it by a ſolemn Oath in proper Terms, without any Equivocation, *As true, as that the Fleſh of God was in the Tabernacle.* And all theſe things were well atteſted by a number of Friars, and other Perſons of Quality, all good Friends of theſe Devils, who frequented them often, had Commerce with them, and had known their Sincerity. What could then have been ſaid againſt it? And what ground of Unbelief muſt not one have had to reſiſt ſo many Proofs?

Sect. 41. This last Miracle was followed quickly by a new one, done upon the same Person, by the Expulsion of the Devil *Balaam*. This is the Verbal Process that was then publish'd.

'*Thursday* the 29th of *November* 1635. We, *James* '*Denieau*, Counsellor of the King at the Presidial 'Court of *la Fleche*, and his Attorney in the Com'mission given by him for the Fact of Exorcisms 'to Monsieur *de Laubardemont*, Counsellor of his Ma'jesty in his Council of State and Privy-Council, 'being at the said *Loudun* in the Church of the *Ur*'*sulines*, with *James Nozai*, Register in the said 'Commission. The Reverend Father *Surin* of the 'Society of *Jesus*, having receiv'd a Letter from 'the Lord Archbishop of *Tours*, by which he re'commended to him to cause that Mr. *Montague*, 'a Noble *Englishman*, might receive Edification by 'the sight of what pass'd at the Exorcisms; The 'said Father *Surin* should diligently apply him'self to exorcise the Mother Prioress of the said 'Nuns, in the presence of the said Mr. *Montague*, 'Mr. *Killegrew* and Mr. *Scandret*, *English* Gentle'men, and of many other Persons of Quality: 'In performing of which Exorcism, the Devil *Ba*'*laam* appear'd counterfeiting the Postures and Mo'tions, which *Isaacarum* and *Behemot* have been ac'custom'd to do: Whereupon the Father suppo'sing that it was *Isaacarum*, he commanded him to 'give the reason of an Accident that happen'd 'eight days since to the said Mother Prioress, 'which was an extraordinary wandring of her Spi'rit, with a perpetual Inclination to eat and sleep, 'whereby she felt an extream pain, as of things un'usual and very violent. To whom the said De'vil answer'd, *That 'twas an Enterprize*; and as the

Father

'Father purſu'd him to know that Enterprize, the 'Devil retir'd: Then the Hymn *Magnificat*, &c. 'being ſung, he appear'd again in the very ſhape of '*Iſaacarum*; and the Father forbearing to continue 'his Demand, enjoyn'd him to proſtrate himſelf 'as he us'd to do, and to adore the Holy Sacra-'ment; to which having been obedient, as he was 'in the middle of the Action, he ſtopt on a ſud-'den, and the form of *Balaam* appear'd in her Vi-'ſage ſad and hideous, making however ſome 'ſhew of Laughter, which caus'd him to be known. 'Then the Father told the Spectators, that it was '*Balaam*, which the Devil own'd; and as it was 'obſerv'd, that the Face became wan, and like one 'dead, the ſaid Father *Surin* ſaid to him, *Thou* '*look'ſt pale, as one guilty; what haſt thou done?* 'He anſwer'd, *'Tis true, 'tis I who have done the E-*'*vil whereof thou complaineſt.* The Father urging 'him to tell plainly what it was, after ſome lit-'tle delaying, he ſaid, *'Tis my ſelf, who theſe days* '*paſt have caus'd to the Diſeas'd that extraordinary* '*Hunger and troubleſome Sleep, and who have kept her* '*from all the Exerciſes of Prayer and Piety, which* '*ſhe had been accuſtom'd to do.* Whereupon the Vi-'ſage continuing to appear ſtill more pale, and 'tending to an Extremity, the ſaid Father perceiv-'ed that the Devil could hold out no longer, and 'conjecturing that he was ready to go out of the 'Body, he commanded him with great Fervour to 'do it. Then the Body of the ſaid Maid, being 'upon her Knees, would be bow'd backwards up-'on her Heels, and ſtretching out her Left-Arm in 'the Air to the ſight of all, We ſaw, with many 'others of the Aſſiſtants, *viz.* the Sieur *Demorans*, 'the Vicegerent of the Biſhop of *Poitiers*, the Fa-'ther *Anginot* and *Bachetcrie* Jeſuits, Exorciſts,

'Father *Luke* Capucin, Exorcist, the said *English* 'Gentlemen, the said *Nozai* Register, the Sieur *de* '*Fresne* Burgess of *Loudun*, and especially the said 'Father *Surin* Exorcising bloody Characters, forming themselves upon the Back of her Hand, 'which compos'd the Name of *Joseph*; this being 'perceiv'd by the said Father, he said, that 'twas 'the sign of the going out of *Balaam*: The said 'Name is written in *Roman* Letters, and in the 'form and bigness almost as this is, JOSEPH; 'which Sign the said Father had extorted from the 'Devil the 1st of the Month of *October* last, which 'happen'd in this manner. The said Father *Surin* having taken notice that the Mother Prioress 'receiv'd the special Favours of God, by the Intercession of St. *Joseph*; and that the Devil *Balaam* had own'd that the said Saint was his particular Enemy in Heaven, he purpos'd to compel 'him, for a sign of his final departure, to write 'the Name of *Joseph* on the back of the Left-'Hand of the possessed Maid, instead of that of '*Balaam*, which two Years before he had pro-'mis'd to write; the Father thinking it more de-'cent that a Religious Person, should have upon 'her Hand the Name of a Saint, than that of a 'Devil. Having therefore several times command-'ed that Devil to promise this Sign, without be-'ing able to engage him to consent to it, he re-'solv'd to perswade the Maid to perform some 'Devotion for that End; which was, to receive 'the Sacrament nine days together, and to do some 'Austerities every day to the Honour of St. *Jo-*'*seph*; that being done, the ninth day at the Ex-'orcisms, without the Fathers seeming to enquire 'into that Affair, the Devil *Balaam* appear'd in a 'terrible Form, contrary to his ordinary Practice,

and

'and biting with rage the back of her Left-hand, 'confest that he was compell'd by the Guardian Angel of the Maid, on the behalf of St. *Joseph*, to 'make the Sign commanded at the very time of 'his last going out; after which he promis'd him, 'and swore upon the Holy Sacrament, not without regret, saying, *That he intended, being not able to go to Heaven in Person, that at least his Name should go thither, being ingrav'd upon the Hand of that Maid:* In conformity to his Promise, that being 'come to pass which has been represented above: 'And the said Name being mark'd in such a manner, that the first and second Skin, and the Flesh, 'seem'd pierc'd; after which, the Maid being 'come to her self, they sung *Te Deum Laudamus, &c.* 'Then 'twas advis'd to make some of the Devils to 'appear, to know how the matter had passed. Upon that the Father, having the Holy Sacrament in 'his Hand, commanded that Devil who should be 'in the Body, to appear and answer to what 'he should be interrogated; and presently *Behemot* appear'd with his frightful Countenance, who 'being commanded to tell who had writ that 'Name upon her Hand, answer'd, *That 'twas* Balaam, *who had appear'd alone, counterfeiting the others.* Being ask'd if he were truly gone out, he 'answer'd, *Yes, by the Flesh and Blood of God which is there*, making a Sign towards the Sacrament. 'Being ask'd, who compell'd him to go out? 'Stretching out his Hand, he said, *'Tis his Enemy, He whose Name is written there, who is come, and hath commanded him to leave his Dissimulation, and to appear in his own Countenance, and to declare that he was the Author of the Disorder that happen'd eight days since to the Prioress, and for the punishment of that disorder, to go out presently.* Being

ask'd

' ask'd more expresly of the Cause of his going
' out, he said, *That he was driven out*, *because he*
' *had hindred the Works of God.* Being ask'd, what
' Works? he answer'd, *Prayer*, *Abstinence*, *Penance*,
' *and all other Recollections of Spirit*, *by the irregula-*
' *rity of the abovesaid natural Actions.* Being urg'd
' to tell plainly, what Irregularity? and in what?
' he reply'd, *That it was*, *as he had said*, *by making*
' *her eat continually*, *by sleeping*, *doing idle Tricks*, *and*
' *hindring the other Nuns in their Devotions and Of-*
' *fices.* Whereupon the Father having said to him,
' *Thou wilt play the same Pranks one of these days*;
' *and for a Punishment thou shalt be constrain'd to go*
' *out*, *as well as he*, he answer'd, swearing, *I would*
' *it were in my Power to obey*, *I would go hence without*
' *being entreated*; *for I am too much tormented.* And
' as he looked steadfastly on the Pix, the Father
' having said to him, *What do you look on so much?*
' he answer'd, *I look upon him who is not to be seen*
' *by bodily Eyes*; and upon that he withdrew. Up-
' on which, We, the said Attorney of the King,
' have made and drawn up our Verbal Process,
' and caus'd it to be sign'd by the Persons present,
' for a Testimony of the Truth which it contains;
' after which the same was read aloud by the Re-
' gister. Thus Sign'd: *Denieau. John Joseph Surin*
' of the Society of *Jesus. Montague*, as having
' seen the Letters of the Name of *Joseph* mark'd
' upon her Hand. *Thomas Killigrew.* And below
' the said Subscription there is written in *English*,
' which has been translated into *French*, by Mr.
' *Montague*, *I saw her Hand white as my Hand*, *and*
' *in an instant change Colour all along the Vein*, *and be-*
' *come red*, *and all on a sudden a Word distinctly ap-*
' *pear'd*, *and the Word was* JOSEPH.

Sect. 42. Thus these wretched Possessed continued molested and tormented by the Devils, without their Exorcists giving themselves the trouble to deliver them, but when they were concern'd to edifie some great Persons of Quality, and to satisfie the Prelates, whose Recommendation these Honourable Persons brought. Some Chyrurgeons being sent to view the Impression of that Name, they perceiv'd an Inflammation, which made them suspect that it had been done, not by the Operation of a Spirit, but by Humane Art; knowing, that in other matters 'twas very easie to make a like Impression with *Aqua fortis*, or some other Compositions. But *Denieau* kept the Verbal Processes, and suppress'd them, and caus'd other Chyrurgeons to be sought for, who should speak a little more favourably, but who however durst not, or could not, so well disguise the matter, but that the Exorcists were oblig'd to own in their Books, 'That there happen'd a thing very remarkable to that Name of *Joseph* writ by *Balaam*; which was, that after its having been for fifteen days very well mark'd upon the Hand of the Superior without any Inflammation or Suppuration happening there, the Devil *Isaacarum*, had in his Rage bit it in such a manner, that it became a great Sore on her Hand in the place of that Writing; That after a Swelling and Inflammation there grew a Scab, which had entirely taken off, and erac'd the Name of *Joseph*, which was seen no more, and continued ten or twelve days without appearing; after which, the Scab, being dried and fallen off, the same Characters that were first form'd, by little and little return'd, contrary to all appearance, shewing themselves as fair as ever; which could not happen

'natu-

'naturally, according to the Report of the Chy-'rurgeons, whereof a Certificate was made. To which they added, That *Behemot* being thereupon interrogated about that matter, said, *That in truth naturally these Characters could not return; but that God had constrained* Isaacarum, *who by his biting had defac'd that Name, to restore it to its former condition.* 'Moreover, they say further, they plainly 'perceiv'd therein the Providence of God, as well to 'favour the Piety of a poor afflicted Maid, as to 'support the Proofs which have been given of her 'Deliverance; and that there is a great appearance 'that these Names and those which were written 'afterwards, would continue imprinted all the 'time of that Maid's Life. But the Incredulous were of an Opinion very contrary to the Testimony of *Behemot*; for they believ'd that the Inflammation had been caus'd by the anguish of the Wound which had been made by writing the Name *Joseph*; and that the Characters which were defac'd by time, and which they said to be from time to time renew'd by the Guardian Angel of the Superior, were also refresh'd, not by the Operation of that Angel, but by the use of *Aqua fortis*: And in effect those Characters did wholly disappear towards the end of her Life, when the leanness of her Hand had made it uncapable of receiving that Impression, as shall be told hereafter.

Sect. 43. During this time the Possession at *Chinon* went on, although it made little Noise, the Court being not so favourable to it, as to that of *Loudun*, because of a report which was made to the King by the Cardinal of *Lions*, and the Bishops of *Nimes*, *Chartres*, and *Angers*, or rather because that the Cardinal *de Richelieu* was not concern'd for it, and

that there was no Body at *Chinon* who had been render'd odious to him, as *Grandier* had. The punishment that that unhappy Prieſt had undergone would not permit thoſe four Prelates, who met together at *Bourguil* in the Month of *November*, in the Year 1634. to concern themſelves with the matter of the Poſſeſſion at *Loudun*, which had been declar'd real by the Sentence of the Biſhop of *Poitiers*, and afterwards by a Decree of the Commiſſaries of the Court; But alſo reflecting upon the Scandal which theſe Poſſeſſions had caus'd to ſome good *Catholicks*, and upon the Scoffs that the Hereticks had taken occaſion to make upon the unworthy manner in which they made uſe of the Authority of the Church, and wherewith they profan'd the Sacrament, they reſolv'd to examine that of *Chinon*, in favour whereof no Court either Eccleſiaſtical or Civil had yet given their Opinion. For that purpoſe they ſent for *Barre*, and order'd him to bring the Maids, which he uſually exorcis'd, to *Bourguil.* The Order of the Prelates was executed, but the pretended Poſſeſs'd were ſo confounded and dazled by their preſence, that they durſt not open their Mouths to ſpeak one ſingle Word. The Cardinal of *Lions* put to them ſeveral Queſtions in vain, they continued always Silent. They aſk'd *Barre*, why they did not anſwer? *It muſt needs be*, ſaid he, *that there has been a Compact of Silence agreed on between the Devils who poſſeſs'd them and the Magicians*; They told him, that he ought to break that Pact, in the Quality of Exorciſt, who labour'd in the Name and in the Authority of the Church; but he refus'd to do it; and Prelates ſo diſcerning as theſe, fail'd not to ſee whence the cauſe of his refuſal proceeded: The ſuſpicions which they ſeem'd to conceive againſt him, made him uneaſie, he fear'd the conſeqences there-

of,

of, and to prevent them, he took the Sacrament in his Hand, and protested in the presence of all the Company, that he believ'd the Devils possess'd the Maids whom he exorcis'd, after the same fashion, and with as much certainty as he believ'd that the Body of *Christ* was contain'd under the Accidents of Bread and Wine. Whereupon these Prelates told him, that he was very insolent, to advance such a Proposition; That he had not a sufficient Authority to decide so important a Question; That although these Maids were not effectually possess'd, they might believe they were so upon his word, as well because of their Melancholy, as because of the good Opinion which the possess'd had of him. There was one of the Prelates that told him, that if he was under his Jurisdiction, he would assuredly cause him to be chastis'd. Some time after, the Cardinal of *Lions* being at the Court, made a Report to the King of the things which pass'd at *Bourgueuil* in his presence, and so well perswaded his Majesty, that those Maids were not possess'd, that the King sent a Letter of Privy-Seal to the Archbishop of *Tours*, which was afterwards printed, and whereof this is the Copy.

My Lord Archbishop of Tours.

Sect. 44. 'Having been inform'd that one named 'Barre, Curate of St. *James* of *Chinon*, contrary 'to all sorts of Advice and reasonable Counsel, 'which have been given him, exorcis'd a number 'of Maids and Women of *Chinon*, who are not 'possess'd, as it has been related to me by seve'ral Prelates fully inform'd of that Affair; especi'cially by my Cousin the Cardinal of *Lions*, in 'whose presence they have been exorcis'd by the

'said

'said *Barre*; wherefore it being neceſſary to take 'care of this matter, and to prevent the evil Con-'ſequences which may happen; I have been wil-'ling to write this Letter by the Biſhop of *Nimes*, 'whom I have ſent expreſs to you, to the intent 'he might confer with you upon the Subject of that 'Irregularity, and to exhort you to interpoſe your 'Authority for the ſtopping of theſe Proceedings, 'according as he ſhall acquaint you with my In-'tention, wherein you may give him entire Credit. 'Wherefore referring my ſelf to him, I will no 'further expreſs my ſelf, and pray God, my 'Lord Archbiſhop, to have you in his holy Prote-'ction. Written at St. *Germains in Laie* the 19th 'of *December* 1634.

Sect. 45. The Archbiſhop of *Tours* having receiv'd that Letter, gave notice to the Court, that there would be need of a very conſiderable Sum of Money to proceed to the Inſtruction of ſuch a Proceſs; for which, ſeeing that he was not provided, and beſides having no ill will neither for the Devils nor for the Exorciſts, he caus'd not any Proceedings to be made againſt *Barre*, who continued exorciſing, and added to the Exorciſms frequent Sermons againſt the Corruption of Manners, aggravating with ſo apparent a Zeal the Faults of the Age, that the common People took him for a Saint, and that there were even Perſons of Merit and Quality, who were ſeduc'd by his extraordinary Hypocriſie. There was of this Party one *Duclos* a Phyſician, who maintain'd the truth of the Poſſeſſion at *Chinon*, being engag'd to it by the Judgment which he had already given in favour of that at *Loudun*; but he had for an Antagoniſt, another Phyſician, named *Quillet*, who publiſh'd in the Year 1635. an excellent *La-*

tin Poem dedicated to the Clergy of *France*, which was then assembled at *Paris*; therein he ridicul'd all the Contrivances of the Exorcists, and shew'd that Melancholly, or rather the Frenzy of *Barre* and the Maids whom he exorcis'd, were the only Devils that possess'd them: And in fine, after having prov'd, by very solid Reasons, the Falshood of such Possessions, he solicited the Clergy to employ their Authority to suppress the Audaciousness of those who use such scandulous Practices, by inflicting on them severe Chastisements. The Clergy was not at all mov'd by the reading of that Poem; and the Language of the Gods seem'd not to touch the Ears of the Ecclesiasticks, who were assembled for other Affairs more important for their Interest, than that of the Possessions of *Chinon* and *Loudun*.

Sect. 46. In the mean time Father *Surin*, continuing his Exorcisms with success at *Loudun*, apply'd himself at the beginning of the Year 1636. to the Expulsion of *Isaacarum* out of the Body of the Superior. But as this Devil seem'd very obstinate, and that he would not obey nor go out by the commands which had been given in the name of *Jesus*, the Exorcist happily bethought himself of invoking the names of *Mary* and *Joseph*. This is what we learn in the little Book which has been publish'd under this Title; *The Glory of St.* Joseph, *victorious over the Principal Devils of the Possession at* Loudun, *wherein is particularly to be seen what happened on* Twelfth day *in this Year* 1636. *in the going out of* Isaacarum *from the Body of the Mother Prioress, dedicated to Monsieur the Duke of* Orleans, *the King's only Brother*. That Book imports, 'That the Father Jesuit having known the Condition of the 'Mother Prioress, and consider'd that she, as well 'as he, had need of the assistance of Heaven, and the

'the experiments heretofore made upon ſeveral oc-
'caſions, having inform'd him of the benefits which
'the Souls receiv'd in this World by the aid of
'St. *Joſeph*, he purpos'd to take that great Saint,
'next the Holy Virgin, for a ſpecial Protector in
'in all that Affair. 'Twas ſaid that this Saint had been choſen for the Conformity of his Name with that of the famous Father *Joſeph* Capucin, who had been the Protector of the Exorciſts, next to Cardinal *de Richelieu*, becauſe that Cardinal ſeem'd no more to be ſo much concern'd for the Poſſeſſion, after *Grandier* had been executed, and that 'twas with difficulty he caus'd the Penſions to be paid, which had been granted to the Exorciſts. It is further mention'd in that Book, 'That *Iſaacarum* is one of
'the Devils who has given moſt diſturbances to the
'Mother Prioreſs, and who had caus'd her greateſt
'vexations; That he had declar'd, that he would
'go out at *Saumur* at the Feet of the Holy Virgin, in
'the Chappel of *Ardilliers*, as *Behemot* had already
'promis'd to go out at the Tomb of the late Bi-
'ſhop of *Geneva*, *Francis de Sales*; for although
'this Saint had not yet been canoniz'd, they
'had invok'd him ſince the beginning of the Inchant-
'ment, and he had aſſiſted to expell the former
'Devils. It was in acknowledgment of that fa-
'vour, that the Community made a Vow to ſing
'to his Honour, every day till *Eaſter*, the Pſalm
'*Laudate Deum Omnes*, &c. and that new Devotion
'was countenanc'd by the favour that God did to
'the Superior in advertiſing her by a Revelation
'which ſhe had, being awake, that *Behemot* ſhould
'go out at the Tomb of that Prelate.

Sect. 47. But *Laubardemont*, who return'd then, as it has been already ſaid, and brought a new Commiſſion for the Exorciſms, thought it not con-

venient, that she should take a Journey to *Geneva*, which was long and troublesome, the Season it self being incommodious; 'Twas therefore advis'd, that 'twould be better to publish Declarations at the Exorcisms, whereby it might be concluded, that the Orders of Heaven for the going out of those Guests were chang'd, and that so they were not oblig'd to keep their promise. In the mean while his Affairs calling him into *Guienne*, he departed and went thither. A little while after the Superior related to her Exorcists a Dream which she had had twice, and as it was found very considerable, and had relation to the Orders which *Laubardemont* had left, they oblig'd her to put it in Writing, which she did in these Terms.

'The first day of the Year 1636. about two 'Hours after Midnight, being gone to Bed after 'our Prayers, where having recommended my self 'to the Glorious St. *Joseph*, and having pray'd him 'to take me into his particular Protection the whole 'course of that Year, and to obtain of our Lord for 'me, that he would do me the favour to take from 'me all the inward Impediments which hinder me 'from the Union of his Love and Service; after I 'had fall'n asleep I seem'd to feel a particular Emoti-'on accompanied with an exceedingly sweet smel-'ling Odour, and quite different from that of Per-'fumes of the World; and I heard at the same time 'a Voice, which said to me, *Behold him to whom thou 'hast recommended thy self.* Immediately the thought 'of that Holy Patriarch return'd into my Mind, 'and my Heart was full of a great respect and 'love towards him, and to my thinking I saw a 'clear Light much more bright and resplendent than 'that of the Sun, and within that Light I saw a

'Face

Face full of Majesty, accompanied with so perfect a Beauty, that I have not Words to express it,
'nor can I find any Comparisons which can come
'near it. From this Visage proceeded a Sweetness
'and Modesty very admirable, which spake to me,
'as I thought, in these Words. *Have constancy and patience under the Impediments which you feel, support them with resignation, and forget your self, God will do you good. Tell your Father Exorcist, that if Men do not, in a little time, take pains for your Recovery, God will provide for it by some other way, and that your Exorcist continue with patience to exorcize you, whereby he will much content our Lord by labouring in his work, and that he shall drive out by his Ministry, if there be no order taken, the Devil, who does most retard your Recovery.* 'After which the whole disappear'd, but the
'Odour continued yet for some time after, and
'being awake, methought that all my Bed was per-
'fum'd. The thought of that Dream all the day
'long in my privacy gave me great Sentiments of
'Confidence in our Lord, and a particular assurance
'of the Assistance of St. *Joseph* in my necessities;
'however I neglected to speak of it, not regard-
'ing the whole but as a Dream. The night fol-
'lowing the same thing, with all the circumstan-
'ces as above related, happen'd to befal me again
'in my Sleep, but the beautiful Visage seem'd to
'me a litle more stern; It ask'd me what was the
'reason that I had not told my Exorcist what hap-
'pen'd to me, and that I should not fail to tell him,
'which I did the next day. Sign'd by Sister *Jane des*
'*Agnes*, *Ursuline* Nun.

Sect. 48. The Favourers of the Possession put this Dream in the Rank of those which God promis'd to his Children by the Prophet *Joel*; They

compar'd it to those of the two *Josephs* mention'd in the Scripture, and all the proof that they brought for that purpose, besides the Account of the good *Nun*, was drawn from the Authority of the Devils; for they write, 'That when the Prioress related 'that Dream to her Exorcist, One of the Devils 'stopt her Speech and seiz'd upon her Spirit, testi'fying a great fury, and that the Exorcist having 'demanded of him what he thought of that Dream, 'he answer'd, *I know not what to say*, I was not in her 'Body that night, nor the precedent, my Com'panion and I were at the Witches *Sabat*; I can 'only say, that when we return'd into her Body, 'we were sensible that there was a marvellous 'sweetness, and an extraordinary quiet in her 'Soul.

Sect. 49. The Incredulous, whose Sentiments were more ready to agree with the testimonies of Devils, than those of the pious Exorcists, were not however satisfied of the truth nor sincerity of that Dream, they believ'd that those words, *Tell your Exorcist, that if Men take not pains for your Recovery, God will do it some other way*, ought to be thus explain'd; Say, that if they will not conduct you to *Saumur* into the Chappel of *Ardilliers*, to the Feet of the Image of the Virgin, the place from whence *Isaacarum* was to make his going out, that Devil shall in fine be expell'd at *Loudun*, by the Ministry of the Exorcists, and by that means one shall save them, and also you, not only the trouble, Costs and Fatigue of a Journey to *Geneva*, but also the trouble of that to *Saumur*. In effect, Father *Surin* having heard the relation of that Dream, said to the Superior, *That we must wait in humility for what God will do; and that if it please him, he can easily change things by the effects of his Providence*, as he

he had already done, and that the events would justifie the whole.

Sect. 50. The Exorcist often interrogated this Devil; he commanded him to tell him, by what Artifices he debauch'd Men from the service of God? *Isaacarum* was not then pleased to answer that Question, he chose rather to amplifie the reasons for which he was fill'd with rage against God and Men. These Reasons were, *That God had not equally treated Men and Angels after their fall; That he shew'd favours to Men, which the most part abus'd, and that he deny'd them to Devils, who would not have abus'd the same, and that neverthelesss he oblig'd them to adore the humane Nature in his Son.* The Father ask'd him afterwards, what was the best way by which the Creature, which was gone astray from God, might return to him, and which he would make use of, if it were in his power? *'Tis the Love of God*, reply'd *Isaacarum*, *and if I had the liberty as Man has, I would employ all my power by the Virtue of that Love, to produce Works to satisfie him.* That Doctrine of a Devil, who Authoriz'd the Freeedom of the Will, and humane Satisfactions, began that day to be suspected by very good Catholicks, because of the Channel through which it pass'd.

Sect. 51. The Exorcist continued to demand of the Devil, If since his fall he had ever tasted of the Sweetness of divine Love? *No*, said he, *and I am glad of it, presupposing that I ought to loose it, because it would be a very great Misery to me to call to mind so great a good. Thou hast however receiv'd Charity and Grace*, reply'd the Exorcist; *'Tis true*, answer'd the Devil, *but I have never produc'd an act by which it has been able to continue in me an impression of that sweetness of Love.* The Exorcist proceeded afterward to another Question, viz. *What is the strongest of all the bands*

which may keep a Man ty'd to the Creature? Whereunto he answer'd, after some resistance, *That 'tis the Pleasure of the Senses, preceded by the forgetting of God, and that the cares of Life, the fears, and the troubles, which one has to enslave himself, are the means which the Devils make use of to produce this Oblivion in the Mind of Men.*

Sect. 52. The Devil continuing to discover the infernal Artifices, and to furnish Men with Reasons how to avoid them, which was properly to divide his Kingdom, and to put it into a Condition to subsist no longer, as the Gospel speaks, said, *That he destroy'd very many Persons by Incontinence; That he had acquir'd very much Credit with* Lucifer *by the fall of* Macaire *the younger, by visiting him in his Desart, and intrapping him by the means of a Woman's Shoe, and a perfum'd Handkerchief, which he put in his way; That for three days he made the relish of Sin to increase by that perfum'd Handkerchief, which he saw and smelt often; But that he recover'd his former State, and for Penance made a Pit, wherein he buried himself up to the Neck, leaving no more than his Head out to look up to Heaven.* The Devil added, That *Alumette*, another Devil, by whom *Elizabeth de la Croix* was possess'd, *intrapp'd* Martinien *after the same manner by a Courtesan, which he had sent to him.* He was also interrogated, If there were Persons in Hell, who had very much tasted of the divine Love upon Earth? He answer'd, *That there were some who had tasted of that Love in perfection, but there were very few; That those kind of People could not be surpriz'd, and fell not but by a secret Vanity, and that their torments proceeded from calling to remmembrance the favours of God.* These Questions were not much more extended, and at the end *Isaacarum* seem'd inraged, making frightful howlings, and endeavouring to strike

the Exorcist, *Because*, said he, *that he constrain'd him to speak to the Advantage of Men, whereas he desir'd but to destroy the Works of God, and to annihilate himself, repenting that ever he became into a Body, wherein he serv'd the Counsel of God against his Will; That 'twas a long time that he toyl'd in the World, altho'* Behemot *had labour'd much longer, and that he had been employed from the beginning against* Job, *whom he had not only tormented in his Body, but that he had also besieg'd his Soul, and that 'tis thence that those Words proceeded, which seem to approach to Despair, and which have given so much trouble to Interpreters; and 'twas also for that reason that he sinned not in all that he said.* This Discourse was mightily applauded by all the Exorcists that were present, although to convince him of a Lie that made it, there needs but to relate the very Words of *Job*, who said, *I am terrified for having spoke thus, and I repented my self in Sackcloth and Ashes*, which shew'd his Sin and the Sentiments that he had of what God himself had reprov'd.

Sect. 53. But behold another discovery which *Isaacarum* made (for he always lov'd to make long Harangues) he said, *That before the Incarnation, the Devils did not possess Men, as they have done since; That indeed they had not, during the Life of Jesus Christ, understood the manner of the Union of the Word to Man to conform themselves to it; That they knew not even the Divinity of the Son, nor how the Motherhood of* Mary *could be join'd with her Virginity; That when* Lucifer *tempted* Jesus Christ *in the Wilderness, his design was to penetrate into that Secret; but these Words*, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God, *left him in blindness as to that Mystery; That since the Death of* Jesus Christ, *the Devils have endeavour'd to imitate him, and to be incarnate in some sort, possessing*

several Persons by a very subtle mixture, which is not to be perceiv'd; and that the Magicians serve them most in the Design. All these things having been utter'd by the Mouth of the Superior, Father *Surin*, after the Devil was retir'd, ask'd her, if she remembred well that she had said for two Hours? To whom she answer'd, *That she did not*; so that some of the Exorcists doubted whether that was *Isaacarum* that had spoke by her Mouth. She then entreated the Father to give her leave to perform nine days Devotion to the Honour of St. *Joseph*, to obtain that her Prayers might not be so often troubled and interrupted; which was readily agreed to by the Exorcist, who doubted not of good Success by that extraordinary Devotion, and who promis'd on his part to say Masses for the same purpose; for which the Devils were inrag'd; and to be reveng'd, on *Twelfth-day*, which was the third of that nine Days Devotion, when the Possessed would have sung the Office of that Day, they disturb'd her, made her Face blewish, and caus'd her to fix her Eye steddily on the Image of the Virgin. 'Twas already late; but Father *Surin* resolv'd to exorcise her powerfully, and to cause the Devil with fear to worship him, before whom the Wise-Men prostrated themselves. For that purpose he made the Possessed go from the Convent into the Chappel, where she spake many Blasphemies, endeavouring to strike the Assistants, and striving to abuse the Father himself, who brought her however quietly to the Altar, where he caus'd her to be bound on a Bench; and after some Prayers, he order'd *Isaacarum*, who appear'd instead of *Behemot*, and who was taken for him, to prostrate himself on the Ground, with a sign of Reverence and Subjection, to Honour the Child Jesus Christ, ador'd heretofore

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by the Wiſe-Men, which the Devil refus'd to do, blaſpheming horribly. Then the Exorciſt ſung the *Magnificat*, *&c.* and when he came to theſe laſt Words, *Gloria Patri*, *&* *Filio*, *&* *Spiritui Sancto*, the wicked Nun, whoſe Heart was really fill'd with the Devil, cry'd out, *Curſed be the F—— Curſed be the S—— Curſed be the H ——G. and curſed be* Mary, *and all the Heavenly Court.* The pretended Devil redoubled yet his Maledictions againſt *Mary*, upon the occaſion of the *Ave Maria ſtella*, *&c.* which was alſo ſung; and ſaid, *That he fear'd neither God nor* Mary, *and that he defied them to drive him out of the Body which he poſſeſſed.* He was ask'd, why he defied a God that was Almighty? *I do it for madneſs*, reply'd he, *and henceforward neither I, nor my Companions, will do any thing elſe: The more we go on, the more we conceive a Hatred againſt God; becauſe we ſee that he is well ſerv'd, and that thereby Men are fortified againſt us.* Then he began his Maledictions again, and curſed at the ſame time the nine Days Devotion of the Superior. Whereupon Father *Surin* advertis'd the People to obſerve the ſpite of this Devil, becauſe that good Nun had begun a nine Days Devotion in Honour of St. *Joſeph*: And he again commanded *Iſaacarum* to adore the Child Jeſus Chriſt, and to make Satisfaction as well to the Divine Infant, as to the Holy Virgin, for ſo many Blaſphemies which he had vomited againſt them. *Iſaacarum* was not tractable; he refus'd to obey, ſaying, *That he ſhould be better pleas'd to ſwallow the Exorciſt himſelf*; and the *Glorioſa*, *&c.* which had been ſung at that time, ſerv'd but to make him utter new Blaſphemies againſt the Virgin. Freſh inſtances were made to oblige *Behemot* to beg Pardon of Jeſus Chriſt, and *Iſaacarum* of his Holy Mother; during which, the Superior having had great Convulſions,

vulsions, she was unty'd, because they imagin'd the Devil would obey: But *Isaacarum* suffering himself to fall to the Ground, cry'd out, *Cursed be* Mary, *and cursed be—— whom she has born*; the Exorcist commanded him at that instant to make Satisfaction to the Virgin for these horrible Words, by winding himself on the Ground like a Serpent, whose Head she has crush'd, and licking the Pavement of the Chappel in three places, and to ask pardon in express Terms before the Image that was in that place; but he again refus'd to obey for that time, until they came to continue the singing of some Hymns. Then the Devil began to twist himself, and by winding and rolling himself, he brought his Body to the end of the Chappel, where he thrust out a great Tongue, very black, and lick'd the Pavement, with Tremblings, and Howlings, and Contorsions very borrible. He did the same thing also again near the Altar: After which he rais'd himself up from the Ground, and continued upon his Knees, with a Countenance full of fierceness, making a shew of his unwillingness to proceed any further. But the Exorcist, with the Sacrament in his Hand, having commanded him to give satisfaction for the Words, his Visage chang'd and became hideous; and the Head turning backward, he was heard to pronounce with a strong and quick Voice, which came from the bottom of the Breast; *Queen of Heaven and Earth, I ask pardon of your Majesty for the Blasphemies which I have utter'd against your Name:* Which the Father having heard, he cry'd out with a loud Voice, *He is going out*, And altho' *Isaacarum* had never promis'd to change the Sign of his going out, however the Exorcist vehemently commanded him in *Latin* to write the Name of *Mary*. Then lifting up the Left-Arm, and shew-

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ing the Hand all uncover'd, with Cries and redoubled Howlings, he quitted the Body, leaving upon the Hand, in the ſight of Perſons who were neareſt, the Holy Name MARIA, writ in the Fleſh in very fair Characters, and ſo perfectly, that 'twas not in the Art of Man to imitate them, in ſuch a manner, that that Event was miraculous, and a certain Proof of the going out of the Devil. But to confirm it yet, the Sieur *de St. Marte*, and a Gentlewoman whom he accompanied, teſtified that they had ſeen a kind of Vapour go out with impetuoſity, at the place where the Name was writ, which was ſeen and kiſs'd by the Spectators, ſome whereof ſhed Tears; and the Mother Prioreſs immediately came to her ſelf, and was full of Joy. They ſung *Te Deum, &c.* and the Exorciſt having commanded *Behemet*, who continued alone, to appear, and to give an Account of what had happened; that Devil declar'd, *That* Iſaacarum *was gone out by the Virgin's command; who, during the Veſpers, had order'd him at his going out, to write the Name of* Mary *near that of* Joſeph, *and him,* Behemot, *to write that of* Jeſus, *upon the Right-Hand, when he went out; That that command was brought to* Iſaacarum *by the Guardian Angel of the Nun; and that when he began to ask pardon of* Mary, *ſhe had made him feel her Power, and commanded him from Heaven to go out; That he did not go out at the Chappel of* Saumur, *becauſe Men had not endeavour'd to perform what God had ordain'd, and to make that uſe of it to which it was deſtined; That* Joſeph *had requeſted* Mary, *and that* Mary *had conſented that that Miracle ſhould be done at* Loudun, *and not at* Saumur, *becauſe it had been ſo delay'd; That as for him, he knew not whether he ſhould go out at the Tomb of the Biſhop of* Geneva, *or elſewhere; That he had not learnt any thing of late*

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concerning it; That he would do harm enough before that should come to pass; That God might hasten his time, but let him do it if he would; *as for me,* said he, with Eyes full of Tears, *I care not, I am mad to be here; in the mean while I will do the worst I can against God.* Upon which Father *Surin* curs'd him, and commanded him to worship with trembling the Divine Majesty in the Sacrament: Which Order he having obey'd with great Convulsions, he lay upon the Ground, and winding his Arms twice, he joyn'd his Feet and Hands together backward; after that he retir'd, leaving the Prioress the use of her Understanding, and full of Joy, for having her late Dream so quickly and so happily accomplish'd.

Sect. 54. The Author, whence this Relation has been extracted, says further; 'That *Behemot* had 'promis'd to raise up the Mother Prioress, and 'to hold her suspended in the Air, as long as one 'could be in singing the Psalm *Miserere, &c.* But 'that the Superior having earnestly desir'd to bear 'on her Hands the Name of *Jesus*, with that of '*Mary* and *Joseph*, with intent to have before her 'Eyes, whilst she liv'd, the principal Objects of 'her Devotion, she had entreated that Favour of 'our Lord, by the Intercession of St. *Joseph*: 'So that upon the simple Wish of that good Maid, 'and without any command of the Church, 'twas 'enjoyn'd that Devil to add this second Sign to 'the former already promis'd, in conformity to 'that pious Desire.

Sect. 55. The Night which follow'd *Twelfth-day*, in which that famous Miracle happen'd to be wrought, the Superior had a Vision, which she her self writ down in these Words, 'I find in my 'self a great consolation of Spirit, and a lively

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'imagination of the great St. *Joseph*, and at the 'same time I have smelt a very sweet Odour, and 'seen a very clear Light, out of which proceeded 'a Voice exceedingly agreeable and courteous, which 'said to me these Words. *Tell your Father Exorcist, that the Holy Mother of God desires that he go to* Saumur *with another Father, to celebrate in her Chappel some Masses, as an Action of Thanksgiving, for that she had permitted that the Devil* Isaacarum *should go out; and say also to him, that he use all the diligence he can, to prepare what is necessary for the rest of your Cure. And as for you, do you learn to confide in God; complain not of the great hindrances which he will suffer to befal you by the Devil who remains in you, he will relieve you by the help of your Exorcist.* After which all disappear'd. Sign'd by Sister *Jane des Agnes, Ursuline* Nun.

Sect. 56. When the precedent Relation was publish'd, the Author well imagin'd that 'twould be rejected by the Incredulous, and that so many Visions and Dreams would effectually be consider'd as meer Dreams. Wherefore he exprest himself in this manner, ''Tis very credible that this Relation which 'we have made will be diversly consider'd by Men 'who shall read it; Worldly Persons will say, 'that these are Fables which are mingled with Devo-'tion, and that the Imagination has a great Share in 'these Matters, and they will think that their Judg-'ment is founded upon the Strength of their Wit. 'They who distrust the whole, will suppose, that 'one cannot see clearly into these Affairs, where-'in the Devil intermeddles, and that 'tis difficult 'to lay any solid Foundation upon the things re-'lated. That Author was not deceiv'd in his Conjecture; for some maintain'd, That the Decrees

of God are unchangeable; that the Negligence of Men, or any other Reason or Accident, could not be Cause sufficient to change them; That the Divine Power should at least have as well inspir'd Men with the Design of bringing the Superior to *Ardilliers* at *Saumur*: They pretended that she had made known, by her Dreams and Visions, that the Orders of his Providence were chang'd, because Men had broke his former Measures; That 'twas certain and notorious, that *Isaacarum* had promis'd at other times, for a sign of his going out, to split the Thumb of the Left-Hand of the Superior, so that it should divide the Nail on both sides; and that this Sign had not been chang'd, but because the other which had been put in its place was more easie, less painful, and less dangerous; That there was no appearance that God out of Complaisance to the Desires of the Superior, had been willing to contradict himself, seeing he had already said in the Scriptures, *You shall not make any Cuttings in your Flesh for the Dead; You shall not stamp any Marks upon you, I am the Lord.* Because that if it was not permitted to make those kinds of Characters on ones self, it was far less lawful to desire to do it by the Ministry of the Devil, whether in respect of *Joseph* or of *Mary*, or of any other deceased Person: And, in fine, the uttering of so many Curses, Blasphemies, and Impieties, was accounted abominable, seeing the Exorcists had not, since the beginning, any ways prohibited the Devils from speaking them any more, nor interpos'd the Authority of the Church for that purpose.

Sect. 57. These Reflections disturb'd a little the Exorcists upon the going out of *Behemot*, who was appointed to go out at the Tomb of *Francis de Sales*, Bishop of *Geneva*; and they were hard put to it to

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invent plausible Reasons to authorize the change of the Declaration which had been made. The Book intituled, *The Glory of St.* Joseph, *&c.* imports further, 'That they desir'd that Men should favour the Design of God, to the Glory of that Prelate, and 'to the Confusion of *Hereticks*; and that they 'would not restrain Providence, which changeth its Effects according to the necessity of those 'whom it loves, to provide by any other way the 'relief of that afflicted Nun. But whilst all the Cabal employed themselves to make the Expulsion of this last Devil successful, whether by the Course already observ'd, or by some other which might authorize the Reasons of a Change, and give them a resemblance of Truth, see what happen'd again at *Chinon*.

Sect. 58. *Santerre* Curate of St. *Louaud*, and Canon of St. *Memes*, having been accus'd of Magick by the pretended Devils which *Barré* exorciz'd, he briskly prosecuted that Exorcist, and the possessed Maid, whose Confessor *Barré* was, before the Parliament of *Paris*; the Matter was referr'd to the Officiality of the same City of *Paris*, where a Decree was made against *Barré*, and the pretended possess'd. But *Santerre* being return'd to *Chinon* to put that Decree in execution, he acquainted the Lieutenant General of that Town with it, and shew'd him his Papers. He had receiv'd many Civilities and Offers of Service before his departure for *Paris*, and he seem'd at that very time fully perswaded that all that Affair was but an Imposture contriv'd by *Barré*. But this Magistrate, who had been one of the Judges of *Grandier*, and to whom *Barré* had been very much recommended by the Marquiss *du Rivau*, who otherwise was a Person of Honour, had his Head fill'd with the Hypocrisie of that

Exorcist,

Exorcist, andlook'd upon it as a real Sanctity; this Magistrate, I say, who all his Life time had not been over scrupulous, fail'd not to discover the secret of *Santerre* to *Barré*, who secur'd the possess'd in the Castle of *Chinon*, and address'd himself to *Laubardemont*, who had then been made Intendant for the King in the Provinces of *Touraine*, *Anjou* and *Maine*. This Intendant made an Order the 15th of *March*, whereby he forbid *Santerre* to apply himself elsewhere than to him for the Fact of the Possession. Nevertheless *Paul Bonneau* Sieur *Desgenetes* Counsellor at *Chinon*, did not scruple to go, accompanied by the Register, and three of the Guards, to the House of *Jane le Tailleux* and others Possess'd, and summon'd the Kindred of these Maids to produce them immediately, in default whereof he would carry them away the next day. Hereupon *Barré* put up his Petition to *Laubardemont*, and remonstrated, that these Maids, vexed and tormented by Devils, had need to go to places of Devotion, and to pray to God, that they might receive some spiritual Consolation, and especially at that time, which was that of *Easter*; That in the mean time, they durst not go from the Castle of *Chinon*, for fear that *Bonneau* and his Guards should attempt something against them, and should do some ininjury to their Kindred, under the pretence of Justice; That he intreated him that he would be pleased to reiterate the prohibitions which he had already made for *Santerre* to address himself to any but to him, to make void and annull all the Judgments and Decrees given by other Judges, and forbid *Bonneau* and other Officers from executing the said Judgments and Orders. It was order'd by the Intendant, upon the hearing of the King's Attorney in that Commission, That the Judgment given the

15th of the Month ſhould be executed according to its form and tenour, and prohibitions made to *Bonneau* and all others to oppoſe it, upon the Penalty of 1000 Livres. In effect none durſt gainſay that Order, becauſe of the Authority wherewith *Laubardemont* was inveſted in Quality of Intendant of the Province, and the matter continued in that condition.

Sect. 59. Since the Expulſion of *Iſaacarum*, there was no Wonder done at *Loudun*, till the beginning of the Year enſuing; but in the mean while there happen'd ſome things from time to time which very much vexed the Exorciſts, amongſt which was the Diſſimulation of the Count *du Lude*. He came to *Loudun* out of Curioſity, and having ſeen the Contorſions and Convulſions of the Poſſeſs'd, he ſeem'd very well ſatisfied, and told the Exorciſts that he doubted no more of the truth of the Poſſeſſion, than that of the Goſpel, wherewith the Fathers were very well contented, and they thought him fully perſuaded. He told them after that, that he had brought a Box of Reliques, which had been left him by his Anceſtors; That he really believ'd that there were ſome true Reliques worthy of Mens Veneration, but that there were ſome alſo that were falſe, and that he would fully know of what Order his were, and whether they deſerv'd his eſteem or contempt; That he had hopes to know the Truth infallibly at *Loudun*, becauſe if the Reliques were true, the Devils would be ſenſible of the Virtue and Efficacy, and ſeem diſturb'd when the Application ſhould be made. The Exorciſts aſſur'd the Count that he could not put his Reliques to a better Trial; wherefore they took them from his Hand, and apply'd them to the Prioreſs, after having made a ſign that ſhe underſtood very well; but whereof the Count,

who obſerv'd them, had alſo taken notice. She made at the ſame time hideous Cries, and frightful Contorſions; One would have ſaid that ſhe was conſum'd by an inviſible Fire, ſo extraordinary were her Torments, and her Agitations violent: In the height of that fit of Rage, the Box of Reliques was taken off her, and in an inſtant ſhe ſeem'd as cool and calm, as ſhe was before. The Exorciſt then turn'd himſelf to the Count, and ſaid to him, *I don't believe, Sir, that you queſtion now the truth of your Reliques*; *I doubt no more of it*, reply'd the Count, *than of the Truth of the Poſſeſſion.* The Father expreſs'd, that he deſir'd to ſee thoſe precious Reliques, and the Spectators ſignified that they had the ſame deſire. The Count permitted it, the Box was open'd, and the Exorciſt confounded and non-pluſt, who found therein nothing but Feathers and Hair, inſtead of the Reliques he ſought for. *Ah! Sir*, ſaid he, *why have you mock'd us? But*, *Father*, reply'd the Count, *why do you mock God and Men?*

Sect. 60. Madam *de Combalet*, otherwiſe call'd the Dutcheſs *d' Aiguillon*, being at *Richelieu*, would alſo go to *Loudun* to ſee the Miracles which were done there; She was accompanied by Mademoiſelle *de Rambouillet*, the Marquiſs *de Brezé*, the Marquiſs *de Faure*, an Abbot, an Almoner, *Cerizantes* Governour of the Marquiſs *de Faure*, and Son of *Duncan* Phyſician of *Saumur*, and many other Perſons. The Abbot and the Almoner diſputed continually upon the Subject of the Poſſeſſion; the Almoner believ'd it real, and the Abbot derided it as an Impoſture ill contriv'd. The principal Perſuaſion of the Almoner proceeded from this, that the Poſſeſs'd reproached Perſons unknown, who came a great way off, with Sins which they had actually committed, and whereof they were convinc'd

vinc'd by the teſtimony of their own Conſcience. The Abbot maintain'd, that not uſing it ſo indifferently towards all Strangers, but only in regard of ſome, one muſt neceſſarily conclude, according to what he had heard, that theſe Travellers who were the moſt curious and moſt ſimple, or the moſt bigotted, addreſs'd themſelves to the Exorciſts, and told them, That being come from far to be Witneſſes of the effects of the Poſſeſſion, they earneſtly deſir'd to ſee ſome extraordinary Sign before their Retnrn; That the Exorciſts advis'd them firſt to patience, and told them; That one ought not deſire, nor curiouſly ſeek after Signs; That when the Curious grew weary of attending and made freſh importunities they were told at laſt, that 'twas expedient that they ſhould pray to God, to the end that he would grant them the favour that they deſir'd, and that the beſt way to obtain it, was to prepare themſelves by Prayer, Confeſſion, and the Communion; That theſe Perſons fail'd not to confeſs themſelves either to the Exorciſts or to other Confeſſors, who were all of Intelligence with them. That in the Confeſſion 'twas commanded them to proſtrate themſelves before a certain Image, to repeat the Prayer of the Guardian Angel, or to make ſome other Devotion of that Nature, whilſt others were buſie about the Exorciſms; That when the Prioreſs, or ſome other Perſon poſſeſs'd, whom they exorcis'd ſaw the Penitent kneel before the Image, ſhe ſaid boldly, *that Man repeats the Prayer of the Guardian Angel*, which he muſt needs grant to be true. Upon which the Poſſeſs'd upbraided him with all the Sins which he had pour'd into the Breaſt of his Confeſſor, of whom this Penitent having too good an Opinion, and not daring ſo much as to think of having been betray'd, he continued perſuaded and con-

vinc'd, that 'twas the Devil who had revealed his Secrets. Madam *de Combalet*, who was often as President in that Dispute, acknowledg'd that all the Abbot said seem'd not impossible, but she objected to him two things, which held her Mind in suspence, and which hinder'd her from determining against the Possession; and that was, the Marks that were seen upon the Hand of the Superior, and the Trouble that one had to lift up the Possess'd, when they were stretch'd upon the Pavement, for they became so stiff towards the Ground, that when one took them by the middle of the Body to lift them up, they were found to be as heavy, as if they had been lead. But *Cerizantes* promis'd to shew that the first of these might be done by Art; And for the second he said, that the difficulty that there was to lift up those Bodies, when they were so laid, proceeded doubtless from their situation, rather than from any supernatural Virtue which ty'd them to the Ground, which he hop'd to prove upon occasion. In effect, the next day he shew'd his Arm before all the Company who were in the Castle of *Richelieu*, and they saw a Name as well mark'd and as red, as those which were writ upon the Hand of the Superior; And since that time in the year 1652. the Queen's Maids who went to *Loudun*, having been brought to the Grate of the *Ursulines* to see those wonderful Impressions, they derided them openly both at the Court and in the Citizens Houses where they lodg'd, because they said that their Gallants without any other Magick then that of Love, bore their Mistresses names upon their Arms. *Cerizantes* having so well succeeded in that first Experiment, he caus'd at the same time a Carpet to be spread on the Pavement and he lay down upon it in the same posture that the Possessed of *Loudun* plac'd themselves; He was found

found as heavy as they, and they had not less trouble to lift him, when they took him by the middle of the Body, but when he told them that they ought to put their Hands under his Head, there was not any who could not raise him easily. Mademoiselle *de Rambouillet* desir'd passionately to make the same Trial upon the Possess'd, and it was partly to satisfie her, that all the Company of *Richelieu* resorted to *Loudun*. When the Superior and the other Possess'd saw the Persons of Quality, they came forward commonly and call'd them by their Names with intent to perswade 'em that that knowledge of their Names proceeded from the Devils. *Cerisantes* who was well instructed in all that pass'd, said to Madam *de Combalet*, That there were at *Loudun* Confederates in the Possession, who took care to give notice to the the Exorcists and the Possess'd of all the Strangers that arriv'd there, were they but any ways considerable, and that they made a description of them, or told them some other circumstances, by which they might distinguish them; That 'twas probable that on the present occasion they would content themselves in saying to these good Maids, that the Marquiss *de Brezé* took place of the Marquiss *de Faure*, without troubling themselves to describe them more particularly, being both almost of the same Age. That 'twould be very proper to begin that way to discover what one should think of that great Affair, the conduct whereof was imputed to so many People, and that for that purpose the Marquiss *de Faure* should go in before the Marquiss *de Brezé*. That proposal having been perform'd, the Devil fail'd not to take the one for the other; however, the possess'd took courage, and made their usual Contorsions, amongst which the Situation of their Bodies, whereof I have already spo-

ken, was not forgot. The Exorcist perceiving that Mademoiselle *de Rambouillet* seem'd more curious than others, he entreated her to satisfie her Curiosity, and to endeavour to lift up from the Ground the Nun whom he exorciz'd. The Lady, at first seem'd in no wise to doubt of the Possession, but at last seeing her self urg'd by the Exorcist, who would confirm her in the belief, she gave her Gloves to her Woman, and taking hold of the Nun, who seem'd to be as heavy as lead, not by the place where they us'd to take her, and which the Exorcist directed her to, but by that which *Cerizantes* had shew'd her, she lifted her up without trouble, to the great amazement of the Standers by, and to the great Mortification of the Exorcists.

Sect. 61. There were yet other means, whereof these Fathers, and the Favourers of the Possession, were accustom'd to make use of to know the humour, quality, and adventures, of those who came to behold these Wonders. The Persons who gave themselves the trouble to come so far, were not usually of the meanest sort of People; they scarce left the places of their Abode, but the Convents of the Capucins, Carmelites, Recollects, or Jesuits, who were settled there, had some knowledge thereof, and they gave notice of it to the Exorcists of their Order, with whom they entertain'd a correspondence, and to whom they sent Accounts of what concern'd the Travellers: Besides that there were a hundred several Accidents which happen'd there, that the Devils knew well to make advantage of, and from whence they took occasion to shew that they could discover things very secret. As for example, *Mary Aubin* had been a Boarder in the Convent, and had a particular familiarity with the Possessed; she knew a part of their secret, at least of what happen'd at

first

first amongst them in respect of walking Spirits, as may be seen in the beginning of this History. She was an Orphan, Daughter of the late Seneschal *de Monstreuil-Bellai*; her Uncles *Bourneuf*, and *Charles Aubin*, had taken her from the Convent, to marry her to *Havart* Sieur *de la Perriere*, who was one of the *Gend'armes* of the King; He was a Man least scrupulous of all those of his Profession; he went one Friday in the Morning to visit his Mistress at the House of *Charles Aubin*, who was of the Reform'd Religion, and who invited him to breakfast with him on a broiled Leg of a Turkey, which he willingly accepted of. His young Mistress, who had no great affection for him, gave secret notice of it to her good Friends the Possess'd Nuns, into whose Bosom she pour'd out her Complaints against her Uncles who would force her to marry him; She went that day to see them, and aggravating the fault of the Spouse whom they design'd for her, she alledg'd his little Piety, and that on that very day he had eaten Flesh without scruple. The Nuns fail'd not in the course of their Conversation to get a Description of the Person of the Gallant, and of his Cloaths. He went that Evening to the Exorcisms. As soon as the Possess'd perceiv'd him, they cry'd out, *O what a Villian! O what a wicked Wretch! He is worse then a* Huguenot, *he has breakfasted this Morning on the Leg of a Turkey!* How resolute soever *Havart* was, he could not but be surpriz'd and confounded at this reproach; And as there was then in the House none but his Mistress and her Uncle, he would have believ'd that 'twas really the Devil who had discover'd that Secret, if his manner of living, and the little disturbance he gave himself about the Affairs of Devils and of Religion, had not immediately stifled in his Mind the reflections which that adventure had rais'd.

Sect. 62. The Accounts we have, contain yet many other Discoveries of that Nature, by which it appears after what manner, and by how many Accidents the Possessed and the Exorcists acquir'd the Knowledge which they made use of for their purpose; but 'twould be too tedious to relate all here, and one may judge sufficiently by this last Adventure, what must be presum'd of the rest. We shall therefore mention only some Examples of the Mortifications, which the Curiosity of several Persons, too suspicious and little credulous, gave to these good Fathers, and their Possessed, in examining them too narrowly.

Sect. 63. The Duke and Dutchess *de la Trimouille* were of this number; they were at *Thouars* in the Neighbourhood of *Loudun*, and they fail'd not to come also to see this Sight. The Dutchess, who was of the Reformed Religion, did not pour out her Secrets into the Bosom of the Exorcists, as Monsieur the Duke of *Orleans* had done; but on the other side, to the end that the Person whom she us'd might not be suspected, she spake a Word to the Almoner of the Duke her Husband, and made her self sure of this Almoner, by keeping him near her all the while that the Exorcist conjur'd, adjur'd, pray'd, and threatned the Devils, to whom he had at first promis'd to cause them to reveal the Secret. This Management lasted three Hours, and the Duke and Dutchess having had the patience to attend all the time, the Exorcists at last dismist them, telling them, that the Devil was obstinate and rebellious at that instant.

Sect. 64. Those whom they exorcis'd at the Priory of the Castle, were put to a like Experiment by two Counsellors of the Court of Parliament, who agreed immediately among themselves upon a certain

certain thing, whereof they gave no notice to the Exorcists, nor to the Priests nor Fryars, nor, by consequence, to the Devils; who could not satisfie them neither, nor discover to them, what they had too well conceal'd. The Exorcist freed himself from that Surprize, the ordinary way, which was to say, That there was a Pact of Silence, which restrain'd the Devil from speaking.

Sect. 65. All these Accidents, and divers others, which 'twould be too tedious to recite, put the Favourers of that Possession much out of Humour; but they were yet infinitely more mortified by the Confessions which the Sister *Claire* and the Sister *Agnes* reiterated from time to time in publick. The acting the part of Demoniacks quite tir'd them, and in the Fits of their ill Humour they often, since the Death of *Grandier*, made the same Declarations, which they had formerly made when he was yet alive. Moreover, Sister *Agnes* being one day exorcis'd in the presence of a Physician of *Chateaugontier*, who propos'd to her some Questions in *Greek*, she answer'd ingenuously, *That she understood not the Language, and that she had never learnt it.* The Exorcist quarell'd with her in Terms which shewed rather, that she had not well discharg'd her Duty, than in a manner which might incline one to believe that she was really possessed; and he continued afterwards to exorcise her with all his might; but she was out of all Patience, and cry'd out, *That she never was a Demoniac; that for a long time they had tormented her in private, to oblige her to do all the things which she did in publick; That if God had not supported her, she should have despair'd; and that she was very unhappy in being in the Hands of those Persons.* The Tears, wherewith she accompanied her Discourse, drew the Eyes of the greatest part

part of the Assistants, who believ'd not but that 'twas the Devil who had spoke thus through Craft, and only to cross the Exorcists.

Sect. 66. The Sister *Claire* being exorcis'd in the presence of an Advocate of *Saumur*, and several other Persons, was burnt by the dropping of a Thread dipt in Brimstone, with which the Exorcist us'd to smoak out one of her Devils: When she felt the smart, she briskly withdrew her self out of the Hands of the Exorcists, bewailing her condition, and declaiming against the Tyranny of those who forc'd her to counterfeit a possessed Person; and she earnestly pray'd to God to take her out of the Misery wherein she was. *The Devil who possesseth this Maid is extreamly crafty*, said the Exorcist hereupon, *and the God he invokes is* Lucifer. *That's false*, reply'd she, *I call upon the true God*, *Creator of Heaven and Earth*. Being afterwards transported with Anger, she ran out of the Church, protesting that she would never return thither; but she was followed by a Lady of Quality, who was her Kinswoman, who allay'd her Passion, and brought her back to the Convent, having not been able to oblige her to return to the place where they perform'd the Exorcisms.

Sect 67. About the end of the Year 1637, Father *Surin* was recall'd from *Loudun*, and in the beginning of 1637. Father *Reces*, also a Jesuit, was put in his place. These are the new Miracles which were wrought by his Ministry, as may be seen in a Book intituled, *The Miraculous Cure of Sister* Jane des Agnes, *Prioress of the* Ursuline *Nuns of* Loudun, *by the Unction of St.* Joseph. It was the Bishop of *Poitiers* who gave the Name of a *Miraculous Cure* to the Unction, whereof there is mention made in this Writing, as appears by the approbation of that Prelate, to whom it was dedicated, which he gave in these Terms:

Having

Having underſtood the truth of the Miraculous Cure, &c. We have judg'd it convenient for the Conſolation of Pious Souls, that the Narrative made of it ſhould be publiſh'd. That Narration contains, 'That *Behemot* being left alone in the Body of the Prioreſs, he had bound himſelf by a Confederacy with *Aſmodee*, one of the Devils who poſſeſs'd the Siſter *Agnes*; and that they had promis'd jointly to a famous Witch, to do ſome remarkable thing for the Confuſion of the Church; That *Aſmodee* ſhould delude his Exorciſt, telling him the Day and Hour of his going out; That he ſhould deceive him, and expoſe him to the laughter of Hereticks; That *Behemot*, on his part, ſhould trouble the Mother Prioreſs, and let her have no reſt from the 8th or 9th of *November*, the Day of her Confederacy, until the end of the Year; But that God oppos'd the Deſigns of theſe Confederates; and that the Pact given to the Witch, which conſiſted in three ſmall Branches of *Mirtle*, each whereof had three Leaves, was the 9th of the Month brought and put into the Mouth of the Superior; from whence it was afterwards, by God's Permiſſion, pluckt out by her Exorciſt; That the two Devils renew'd their Agreement; and *Behemot* being gone out of the Superior, to ſeek for a new Pact, the Nun's Guardian Angel ſeiz'd of him, and bound him for a Month, under the Picture of St. *Joſeph*, which was in the Church, at the great Altar, under the Feet of the Sacrament; That all theſe things were reveal'd by a Viſion to the Superior, who enjoy'd a great freedom of Mind during the Abſence of her Devil, of whoſe return ſhe was ſenſible, as ſoon as his Month was ended; That the Exorciſt had no ſooner perceiv'd him on the Countenance of

'the

'the Possessed, but he ask'd him the reason of his 'Absence; to which he answer'd, *That he was not far off, that he had not gone out of the Temple of God, where he had continued under the Feet of* Joseph; *That a Spirit, which was the Maid's Guardian Angel, and was his Inferior in Nature, but Superior in Grace, had bound him there for the Punishment of what he had attempted, not to leave her one Moment at Liberty all the rest of that Year; That he had broil'd near a violent Fire that had burnt him, that is to say, near the Sacrament; That since his Creation, he had not been so captivated, having not one Foot square for all his length.* The Book adds, 'That the 1st Day of the Year '1637. that Devil was oblig'd to speak much du'ring the Exorcisms, and to adore in a more ve'nerable manner than usual, for the Edification 'of the Assembly, which was exceeding numerous 'and famous that Day; That the Exorcism being 'ended about five in the Evening, the Superior was 'constrain'd to go to Bed, and to submit her self to 'the violence of a Feaver which seis'd her, and caus'd 'her all that Night great Pains in all her Body, and 'particularly in her Left-side, which made the 'Physician judge that it was a Pleurisie; but that 'he was altogether astonished when he saw that the 'Blood was not spoil'd nor alter'd, contrary to 'the Nature of a Pleuresie; That *Behemot* being 'adjur'd to declare, whether he contributed any 'thing to the Sickness of the Superior, answer'd, '*That he did not contribute any thing hurtful, but that he had receiv'd order from God by the Maid's Guardian Angel, to preserve the Blood entire*; That that De'claration was made the 6th day of the Disease, 'after the Visit of the Physician; That *Behemot* 'being adjur'd again, swore by the Living God, 'That he had spoke the Truth; That the Physician

'speak-

'speaking to the Exorcist in *Latin*, and sometimes
'also in *Greek*, of the danger wherein the Life of
'the Superior was, *Behemot* gave Intelligence of
'all their Discourse, with intent to fright her,
'which did not succeed, because she submitted her
'self wholly to the Will of God; That the De-
'vil kept her employ'd a Night and a Day in
'thinking of all the things that befel her, to the
'prejudice and ruin of her Health, at least in ap-
'pearance; such as were the Bleedings which
'were often repeated, and especially in thinking
'of the Order which was given her to abstain
'from the Communion, because they were ob-
'liged to make her take from time to time some
'Food, by reason of the weak Condition she was in;
'That the next day she complain'd softly to *Jesus*
'*Christ*, that after so turbulent a day and so tedi-
'ous a night, he had refus'd to see her, and that
'then she had receiv'd him in an extraordinary
'manner by a spiritual Communion; That her
'good Angel taking her part, drew off softly the
'Glove of her Left-hand, and renew'd after the
'usual manner the Names of *Joseph* and *Mary*, lea-
'ving her at his departure a great Joy at the bot-
'tom of her Soul, in which her Confessor found
'her at that time; That the 11th day of her Sick-
'ness *Behemot* had the liberty to wander, and that
'then she began to be much better, and more chear-
'ful then usual, hearing something, I know not
'what, which said to her that she must shortly go
'and take the Air; Upon which *Behemot* coming
'to seize upon her Tongue, said, *That had he been*
'*absent, she would have died, because all her Blood*
'*had been Corrupted*; That he was ask'd, why he
'spake of Walking, and that he reply'd, *That after*
'*having been bound in the body of the Nun, not to re-*

move

'*move thence, he had now, as well as his Companions,* '*the liberty to go and come from one place to another.* 'That when *Behemot* using that Freedom did beat 'about the Fields, there seem'd to the Superior that 'there parted something from her Head, which 'went off from her, and that in proportion to 'that retreat, her bodily strength diminished; 'which was an evident Proof that she had been 'supported by *Behemot* during her Sickness; 'That upon the Weakness which had been caus'd 'her by the Feaver, Pleurisie, and frequent Bleedings, 'there happen'd to her a flux of Blood, which cast 'her again into a greater weakness, but that this flux 'was a Crisis, which evacuated all her peccant Hu-'mours, after which she was no more sensible of her 'Feaver, but some little Fits from time to time, 'of which she took no heed, because she knew that 'they proceeded from the Operation of the Devil. 'But that the Feaver seiz'd her again on *Sunday Jan.* 25. 'with an extream violence, and redoubled the next 'day in the Morning, accompanied with pains of 'the Heart, frequent Vomitings, and intollerable 'Aches in her Right-side; That the Physician *Fan-ton*, who was of the Reformed Religion, having 'been sent for, he judg'd also that it was a Pluri-'sie, that kind of distemper being at that time 'become Epidemical; That he caus'd the sick Per-'son to be blooded, and tended her with very 'much care and diligence; That the *Wednesday* 'following her pain was very great, which the 'Devil perceiving, he appear'd to her about six 'or seven a Clock in the Evening in a frightful man-'ner, and under a hideous form; That then see-'ing her fall into great Faintings, he believed that 'she was in an Agony, and gave her a terrible as-'sault, of which she speaks in a Letter writ to Fa-

ther *Surin* in these Terms. *The mischievous* Behemot *took that opportunity to give me a furious assault, for during the space of half an hour, he shew'd himself to me under a hideous and frightful form, with a great Throat casting out Fires and Flames as well at his Mouth as at his Eyes; he had great Claws which he stretch'd out upon my Head, telling me, that I was condemn'd by God to eternal Flames, and that he waited for the coming out of my Soul to carry it to Hell. He endeavour'd during that time to give me strong impressions of Despair, but our good God by his Mercy supported me in this Conflict, for I found my Spirit very much resign'd to whatsoever it should please his divine Goodness to dispose of me, yea even to go Hell, provided that it was not with his Malediction, and that I should there sing his Praises, and make it a Paradise. This is all the Answer that I had to make to that impious Spirit.* In this manner are related the Words of the Superior in the Book *of the Miraculous Cure*, &c. wherein there is further added. 'That during that Combat she 'seem'd troubled and amaz'd, and notwithstanding 'she said twice or thrice, *That must be, what God 'appoints*; That her Confessor having been call'd 'to her assistance, she told him that *Behemot*, to 'overwhelm her with despair, had taken from her 'all the remembrance of *St. Joseph* and other Saints; 'That he had not left her the liberty to cast her 'self into the Arms of God, and to practise any act 'of Confidence; but that at last, at the end of half an 'hour she felt her Heart to throw it self upon the Providence of God, towards whom she turn'd her self 'saying, that he was her Father; after which she 'was quiet all the Night and the day following, 'but that her Sickness increas'd on *Thursday* in the 'Evening, even as she has exprest her self in the 'Letter already mention'd, which she writ to

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‘ Father *Surin*, where ſhe goes on in this manner: *About nine a Clock on* Thurſday *in the Evening, that wicked Spirit began to give me great thwartings of Mind, and to repreſent to me the condition of all my Life ſince ſix years of Age, and brought into my Mind, by a diſcourſe which he made in my Head, the leaſt diſorderly Actions wherein I ſuffer'd my ſelf to be carried; eſpecially he made great Inſtances upon the time of my Poſſeſſion, and upon that mingling of the Spirit of the Maid and that of the Devil; And to tell you the Truth, I was then in a great Perplexity, and had nothing to ſay, unleſs that our good God had given me the Grace to acknowledge him by a more certain pleaſing way, which was Contrition and Confeſſion; and I believe if I had not made a Confeſſion ſo exact to you, as that I have made, and that God had not ſupported me, I had upon that occaſion loſt my peace of Mind; but my ſweet Love was not willing to ſuffer it, for which I am much obliged to him. His divine Goodneſs was ſo great, that after having ſeen me all the night in that Combat, he ſent about five a Clock on* Friday *Morning my good Angel, to renew the Names of* Mary *and* Joſeph, *and gave me great Sentiments of Confidence in his divine Majeſty, whom I ſhall always Bleſs and Adore in all the Deſigns he ſhall have for me.* The ſame Book of the *Miraculous*, &c. relates further, ‘ That the Diſeaſe went
‘ on daily increaſing, and that the Phyſician having
‘ ſeen a redoubling of it, which happen'd the *Sunday*
‘ following, ſaid openly, that ſhe was in danger of
‘ Death; but that the Exorciſts, and even ſome of the
‘ Seculars maintain'd, that ſhe would not die, ground-
‘ ing their Opinion as well upon the Providence of
‘ God in general, who ſeem'd much engag'd in the
‘ matter of the Poſſeſſion, whereof the Mother Pri-
‘ oreſs was as the ſpring and foundation; as in
‘ particular upon the Promiſes which had been gi-

'ven of her deliverance before her death, and up-
'on the impression of the name of *Jesus* on her
'hand; That the sick Person, declar'd that she
'would not require Extream Unction, upon her be-
'lief that she should not die; That this Confidence
'was augmented to her by an extraordinary way,
'*viz.* by a Visit which she receiv'd on *Thursday* in
'the Morning, and by a Voice which exhorted
'her to take Courage and Confidence, and which
'said to her, that her Disease would reduce her in-
'to a greater danger, but God would exert his
'Power; That she thought nevertheless the night
'following that her Confidence ought not to be too
'presumptuous, and that seeing that Men gave her
'for dead, she was oblig'd to put her self in the
'condition of a Daughter of the Church, having re-
'course to the Sacraments, which that Holy Mo-
'ther causeth to be given to dying Persons; That
'having had this thought, she pray'd her Exorcist
'on *Friday* Morning to give her Extream Uncti-
'on, in case that she relaps'd into the same condi-
'tion, wherein she had been before, which he pro-
'mis'd her; That on *Saturday* Morning about six
'a Clock, her good Angel was sent to her again
'to renew those Holy Names, and that she call'd
'one of the Sisters who were at the Grate, to be
'a Witness of what pass'd; That that Nun being
'upon her Knees at her side, there was heard di-
'stinctly a little Noise under the Coverlet; That
'the Mother's Glove was pull'd off, and put aside
'upon the sheet, the Left-hand withdrawn from the
'right, and brought low upon her Breast, and
'put in a posture fit to write, which was done with-
'out precipitation, and very leisurely; That
'since that her Glove was pull'd off, to that time
'that the Writing was renew'd, it seem'd that

'there was a little Dove which flew to and fro 'very softly and perceiveably; That its retreat 'was as visible as its entrance; That the Nun, 'who was present, put her Hand to the same 'place where she had heard the little Noise, but that 'she perceiv'd not the Motion of any thing; That 'the Characters having appear'd fresh after that Vi-'sit of the good Angel, the Fathers had taken a 'new occasion of Confidence; That the Physi-'cian, to whom they shew'd them, said, *That it 'did not follow from these Marks, that the sick Per-'son should not die, but that they would be useful to 'her for her Salvation*; That the Disease was very 'much increas'd from the very day the Extream Un-'ctions was brought to her by her Exorcist having 'on his Surplice and Stole, and accompanied by 'another Father, and by *Demorans*; That when 'they were ready to administer it to her, she 'desir'd to be given over by the Physician, and to 'be judg'd past recovery, according to Nature, but 'that before she had time to impart that desire to 'her Confessor, she felt that unperceiveably she begg'd 'of God to be left to the Mercy of his only Pro-'vidence; That half an hour after making that 'Prayer, she was in an Agony, so that when the 'Physician, the Surgeon, and the Apothecary were 'come in, she fell into the last Convulsions of Death; 'That they saw in her Person all the Marks of a 'dying Maid; That she had a great oppression 'in her Breast, her Throat swollen, her Tongue 'and Mouth black, her Nostrils open'd and drawn 'back, her Eyes sunk, her Hands clutch'd, her Pulse 'Convulsive and intermitting, her Stomack and 'her Belly much swell'd, her Sweat cold, and the 'defluxion of her Brain impetuous; That when 'they saw her in that Condition, they judg'd her

'to

'to be dying, and said, that she had not two 'Hours to live; So that they retir'd to make 'room for the Ceremonies of the Church; That 'at last the Physician being desir'd to inform *Lau-*'*bardemont* with the condition of the Disease of 'the sick Person, he wrote to him this Let-'ter.

'*Sect.* 68. *Sir, I have been obliged by the Gentlewomen* Ursuline *Nuns of the Convent of this Town, to give you notice of the condition wherein the Lady their Superior is in at present, who is in an estate af extremity, and without any appearance of Recovery, the said sick Person having not been able to spit, nor to give us any sign of a Cure by the discharging of any Excrement, and having at present a convulsive Pulse, and so great a difficulty of breathing as she never had before; and having her Belly much extended, without sufficient strength to admit of any Medicine, not even a Glyster, instead whereof we are going presently to give her a small Suppository, to endeavour to cause a part of that to come away, which swells her Belly, and throws her into an Oppression, which is so great it cannot be exprest. I shall add nothing more to the Circumstances above describ'd for fear of being troublesome to you, only I shall entreat you to believe, that she shall be assisted with the like Fidelity and Affection, as you shall be during my Life, by Sir, &c. From* Loudun *in haste, about seven a Clock in the Evening, the 6th of* February 1637. Fanton *Physician.*

'Tis added in the Relation already cited, 'That 'they continued again the Prayers of the Ritu-'al, and that they ended the Ceremonies of the 'Sacrament; That though all the Sisters had seen 'their good Mother in extremity, they wept not 'however, for the great confidence they had of 'her future recovery; That the Ceremonies be-'ing ended, as they approach'd the sick Person,

'she was restor'd to the late Condition wherein 'she was before the coming of the Physician, whom 'she presently after call'd to Mind, saying, *God will suddenly convert that Man, he has shew'd him at present all the Signs of my Death, what could he answer him if he be not converted?* 'That she felt some time after 'a gentle but strong inclination to take rest, in 'praying at the Feet of her glorious Father *Joseph*, 'whose Picture she had before her Eyes; That 'this desire having been divers times interrupt-'ed, a Slumbering seiz'd her at last; But that she 'had scarcely slept one quarter of an hour, when 'the same Accidents, and some others coming upon 'her, she fell into the utmost conflict of Life; That 'the Exorcist and two Nuns ran to her, in whose 'presence she had one or two Convulsions, and like 'one a dying; That she had two visible stroaks of 'the Hiccup of Death; But that instead of the 'third, they heard a very strong Sigh, and that in 'a Moment she became sound and vigorous, and 'said she had felt her self depriv'd of all her bodi-'ly Senses, altho' she had always had her Judgment 'free, and that as she was in that Condition, she 'had seen a fair and great Cloud, in which was 'inclos'd on the Right-side her good Angel, of 'an incomparable beauty, as of a young Man of 'eighteen years of Age, with comely Hair, flaxen 'and very long, which reach'd to the Shoulder of 'the Reverend Father *Reces*, who was on the same 'side of the Bolster of her Bed; That this blessed 'Spirit held in its hand a fair Flambeau of White-'wax; That her glorious Father *Joseph* was on 'the other side of the Cloud, having a Countenance 'brighter than the Sun, and a Majesty more than 'Humane, of the Age of a Man between forty and 'five and forty Years, with a full Head of Hair,

mighty

'mighty bright, though of a Chesnut Colour; 'That she saw him look on the Companion of the 'Exorcists who was on the same side, after a fashi-'on very pleasing and full of Majesty; That af-'ter that beholding her, he put his hand upon the 'Side where the principal Cause of her Disease 'had always been; That he anointed her with 'Oyl, or some other Liquor; That the place which 'was anointed was made somewhat moist; And 'that at that very instant she was cur'd, as she 'testified to them by these Words which she ut-'ter'd, *I am heal'd, my good Angel and St.* Joseph *are 'come, he has anointed my side, and I have no more pain.* 'That the Exorcist, having heard her speak of 'anointing, ask'd her if she felt any thing? She 'answer'd that she felt Moisture, and that having 'taken her Shift, she wip'd it presently without 'making any other reflection; That her recovery 'having been so sudden and momentary, they sung '*Te Deum*; That the Physician having been sent for, 'came to the Convent without having heard any 'thing of that Miracle, and that he saw the Prioress 'come towards him cloath'd with her Nun's Habit, 'who smiling, related to him the Miracles of her 'Recovery; That his amazement was so great, that 'he continued some time without saying any thing, 'but that in the end he exprest these words, *The Change is great, but the Almighty Power of God can do any thing.*

Sect. 69. The Recital of that History being thus ended, the Author of the Book makes thereupon divers Reflections, in which he presupposeth that the Disease of the Superior was not feigned, neither in whole nor in part, but all real, true, and natural, and the Proof which he produceth as the most evident, besides that which he drew from the Testimo-

nies of the Physicians, Apothecary, *&c.* of the Exorcists, Confessors, and of all those who saw or attended the sick Person, is the certain knowledge she had of the Quality of her Disease, and the Authentick Oath which the Devil had made, that this Sickness had its beginning iu Nature; and indeed he spake the truth; the cause was, in effect, *in corrupted and perverted Natnre.* He proceeded next to the proofs of the Miraculous Cure, which are equally drawn from several Testimonies mention'd in the Relation, and also of the extraordinary and infinitely agreeable Odour, which remain'd in her Shift, wherewith that Unction had been wiped off from her Side; And in fine, the Virtue of that same anointing has since been manifested in sundry Diseases, and against the Devils themselves. For Confirmation of this last Argument, the Author relates, that the 10th of *February* Father *Reces* having caus'd a little Paper to touch that Unction, he went to the Exorcism of *Frances Fillatreau*, where the Devil *Souillon*, who smelt that excellent Odour, fell in a rage, and said, *That he lov'd not to smell that, and that it was such a Balm, that the Person who had been anointed with it, ought no more to do any thing against the Will of God.*

Sect. 70. The 15th of the same Month, the same Devil, who doubtless was no Lover of Perfumes, felt also the Virtue of that Ointment in the Hands of *Manouri* the Surgeon, which made him withdraw, saying to the Surgeon, *That he had touch'd something which displeas'd him.* The Devils *Cedon*, *Asmodee*, *Daria*, and *Baruc* had the same Aversion; there was one which said, that 'twas the Father of God who tormented them, and others fell into Blasphemies against St. *Joseph.* That Saint was pleas'd that a Number of Miracles should be wrought by the

the means of that Shift, perfum'd with a Heavenly Ointment, which had gain'd a great reputation, and justly too, on Madam *de Laubardemont*, who being dangerously sick at *Tours*, eight days after the Superior was recover'd, and not daring to make use of Medicines, because of her being four Months gone with Child, her Husband in despair, saw no other recourse, but that precious Relique which St. *Joseph* had left in the hands of his Kinswoman. He sent for it, and you may easily judge that 'twas not deny'd him. In effect, the 25th of *February*, *Demorans* carried the Shift into the House of *Laubardemont*, who went to Prayers with his Domesticks, after which the Canon presented to the Sick that excellent Remedy which he had brought, the only Smell whereof fill'd her with Joy, according to the Relation which the same Author makes of the *Miraculous Cure*, &c. But when an Application had been made to the Right-side of the sick Person she was perfectly cur'd, and was the same day, without pain, deliver'd of a Child which had been dead in her Body about a Month, according to the Judgment of Physicians. They us'd again that odoriferous Ointment to suppress the Vapours of the *Matrix*, which flew up to the Brain of the lying in Woman, which fail'd not to produce the desir'd effect, contrary to the usual Virtue of Perfumes, which excite that kind of Ailment, instead of asswaging it. After a Miracle so surprizing, wrought in the Person of the Intendant's Wife, there was at *Tours* a great Concourse of People of all Ranks, who came to visit, smell, and kiss the Celestial Relick, and to cause their Beads and Images to be touch'd with it. At last it was brought to *Loudun*, and there again it produc'd a considerable Cure on the Mother *Angelica*, a Nun also of St. *Ursula*, to

whom it was happily apply'd in the extream necessity of a Disease, for which they could not find any other Remedy.

Sect. 71. Upon the Credit which such Histories deserve, the Relation concludes boldly, 'That the 'Recovery of the Superior was miraculous, and as 'eminent as any other one can quote out of the Wri-'tings of any Author. It cannot be ascrib'd to Devils, 'without denying the Providence of God, nor be 'suspected for an Imposture, without calling into 'question the Miracles of Saints, whom the Church 'has canoniz'd, there being none better certified, 'than that although there is no obligation to believe 'it under the pain of an Anathema, being not in-'serted as those of the Scripture amongst the Ar-'ticles of our Faith; But that it cannot be reject-'ed without imprudence, nor misbeliev'd without 'rashness, and they who believe it not ought 'at least to suspend their Judgment, and be si-'lent.

Sect. 72. If this Conclusion can be admitted in the Court of *Rome*, as 'tis the Design of the Society of the Nuns of St. *Ursula*, for the Glory of their Order, sure it would not have been long before we should have seen the Mother, *Jane des Agnes*, canoniz'd. But in spite of the Confidence, with which these Fictions and Visions have been vented for Truths, there were then, and always will be, some Unbelievers, who would overthrow all these Fables by a single Negation, seeing that they are not founded upon any Reason, nor upon any Proof, which may be in the least likely to be true, or which deserves to have the least regard. In effect, can one conceive any thing more strange, than to see God employ the Devils to do good to Mankind? And *Behemot* to become the Minister of Divine

Grace in the Preſervation of the Blood of the Superior, which would have been entirely ſpoil'd and corrupted, if ſhe had been ſeiz'd with a real Pleureſie, and if ſhe had felt in her Side the great Pain that ſhe pretended to feel? Is it not alſo a thing wonderful and aſtoniſhing, that a Humane Body, ſuch as is that of our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, could be contain'd all entire and eaſily, under the Accidents of one Crumb of Bread? And that a Spirit ſhould want room in the ſpace of one Foot Square, under the Picture of St. *Joſeph*? But the Teſtimonies of the Phyſician, Apothecary and Surgeon, are poſſibly more conſiderable Proofs, and eſpecially that of the Phyſician *Fanton*, who was of the Reformed Religion, and who has writ a Letter full of Facts; which infer, by neceſſary Conſequences, the Truth of the Miracle, when even the bad Reputation of *Mannouri*, with the former Proceedings, and the Stupidity of the Apothecary *Gouin*, might hinder them from being admitted of for unqueſtionable Witneſſes. But the Phyſician told his Friends and his Children, and has left it in Writing; That the Nuns had deceiv'd him, in ſending to his Houſe very late in the Evening their Maid, to entreat him for Reaſons, which to them were important, that he would write to *Laubardemont*, that the Sickneſs of the Superior was extream, and ſeem'd irrecoverable, ſaying, that he ought not to pry into their Reaſons, which would prejudice no body; That they had a particular Intereſt which concern'd the Temporal Affairs of the Convent, to oblige the Intendant to come to *Loudun*, which perhaps he would not do becauſe of his great Employments, if they did not cauſe him to be written to, in that manner, by their Phyſician himſelf, who could not be ſuſpected by him.

The

The Physician further affirms, That the Superior was really bad enough by her Feaver, which had seiz'd her for some time, although he doubted not, but that extream Pain in her Side, whereof she complain'd, was counterfeit; but that as he himself was uncapable of such a Dissimulation, he could not imagine that it could enter into the thoughts of another; That upon her Complaints, he judg'd that the Disease might be a Pleuresie, which was then a Disease Epidemical: But the Blood of the sick Person which he had seen, had given him reason to doubt, and had even perplex'd him concerning the Nature of the Disease, having had no occasion to suspect any Intrigues and Cheats, as to the Declarations and Testimonies of the Devils touching the Causes of that Accident, because he had not had any notice thereof given him; That when he saw the Superior after her pretended Cure, she was in the same Condition as before, in respect of her Weakness and Feaver; That she was upon her Knees, because she could not support her self; That she was lifted up by two other Nuns, and that after having gone two or three Steps, she excus'd her self upon some remainder of her Weakness, and cast her self upon the Bed; where having felt her Pulse, he told her, that she was not so well recover'd, but that she needed to be put into it; but that seeing she was so well perswaded of her Cure, that was as much as to say, that she had no more need of a Physician, and that 'twas time for him to retire; which he did presently, and 'twas very lucky for him; for in going down the Stairs he heard a Voice, which was not unknown to him, and that he believ'd to be of *Memin de Silly*, who cry'd out to the Fryars, Jesuits, and others, who were in the Chamber, *Why do*

you not ſtop him then? That was, as he was inform'd ſince, to make him ſign willingly, or by force, the Atteſtation which had been already drawn up by *Gouin* and *Mannouri*; but far from doing it, and from being perſwaded of the Truth of that Miracle, or from having ſaid (concerning the Characters pretended to be renewed upon the Hand of the Superior) *That thoſe Marks might be uſeful to her for her Immortality*, he continued all his Life-time a good Proteſtant, and ſo offended with the Cheat, that they would have put upon him, that he would never ſince put his Foot within the Convent of the *Urſulines*, notwithſtanding the Sollicitations they made to him divers times, and even to the Year *1661*, when he died; for he was an excellent Phyſician, and that notwithſtanding his Religion, he always ſerv'd the greateſt part of the other Convents, and the Hoſpital of the Town.

Sect. 73. In the mean time *Laubardemont* came to *Loudun*, to promote that Miracle of St. *Joſeph*, and to uſe all his Authority in conjunction with the Endeavours of the Eccleſiaſticks, with intent to beget a belief of it in the Minds of Men. The 12th of *February* he ſent for the Phyſician *Fanton*, who was gone to viſit ſome Perſons in the Country: They believ'd that he conceal'd himſelf. The Lieutenant Criminal, who profeſt himſelf to be his Friend, came to acquaint his Wife, that this Courſe would ruin him, and do what he could, they ſhould be ſure to find him ſooner or later. The next Day in the Evening *Fanton* being return'd, went to the *Inn* of the Sign of the *Croſs*, where *Laubardemont* lodg'd, who ſupp'd that Evening in the Convent of the *Urſulines*. The next Day in the Morning he return'd to the ſaid *Inn*; and the Intendant

tendant beginning to put Interrogatories to him, he anſwer'd, That if it was commanded him to give his Certificate touching the Diſeaſe of the Superior, he was ready to do it; which was the manner of proceeding upon the like occaſion, the King's Edicts preſcribing no other ways; and that therefore he could not ſubmit to that new Cuſtom, nor anſwer. Whereupon he was ſent away for that time. The 16th of *February* the Intendant made an Ordinance, in which was contain'd, that the Phyſician ſhould anſwer to the Interrogatories which ſhould be put to him, upon the Penalty of a hundred Livres Fine. That Order was not ſignified, till the 27th of the ſame Month, with a command for *Fanton* to go to *Tours*, whither *Laubardemont* was return'd, to anſwer there to the Interrogatories which ſhould be put to him; and for want of doing that, they ſummon'd him before the Council. *Fanton* appear'd at *Tours* the 3d of *March*: He was diſcharg'd of the Fine and Summons to the Council, upon the offer which he made to anſwer. In effect, having taken his Oath, and declar'd, That he was betwixt ſix and ſeven and thirty Years of Age; they aſk'd him, if he had not viſited the Mother Prioreſs of the *Urſulines* of *Loudun* in two Sickneſſes which ſhe had the firſt Day of the Year, and what were thoſe Maladies? He anſwer'd, That he began to viſit her the third Day of her firſt Sickneſs; 'That ſhe complain'd 'of a Pain in her Left-ſide, ſeated below the 'Breaſt of the ſaid Side, even to the *Hypochondria*; 'that he judg'd her to have ſomething of a Baſtard Pleureſie, having a continual Feaver, with 'daily Remiſſions; for which Diſeaſe he tended her 'during nine or ten Days, and caus'd her to be 'blooded three or four times; That on *Thurſday*

'the

'the 26th of the ſame Month of *January*, the 'Prioreſs ſent for him early in the Morning, 'and told him, that about ten a Clock the Night 'before, there was fallen a great Defluxion on her 'Stomach, which had caus'd her a difficulty of 'Breathing, and an Oppreſſion, with Pain on her 'Right-ſide; and that ſhe had a Spice of a Fea-'ver, which Diſtemper he had judg'd to be a true 'Pleureſie on her Right-ſide, followed by a Defluxi-'on on the Stomach, which ſhe afterwards voided 'by Spitting and Vomiting; which Evacuations 'the Sick Perſon caus'd to be kept in a Baſon to be 'view'd, being Flegmatick, with a little Froth, and 'ſometimes ſmall Streaks of Blood, very red, like 'to that which ſhe ſhew'd him alſo in a Napkin: 'He added alſo, that he continued to phyſick her, 'till about ſix a Clock in the Evening of *Saturday*, 'the 7th of *February*; during which time he had 'not obſerv'd any Signs of Concoction, neither in 'the Urine by Night, which they made to be kept 'for him, nor in that which ſhe did ſpit; That 'having perceiv'd ſome Convulſion in her Arms, 'he began to make ſome bad Prognoſtication of 'the Diſeaſe; for the Cure whereof he had order'd 'a convenient Courſe of Diet, bleeding at the 'Arm ſeven or eight times, nine Ounces each time, 'except the laſt, which was to be three Ounces on-'ly, four Glyſters, and ſome other Medicines; 'That he had not been preſent at the adminiſtring 'of any of the ſaid Medicines, but that he was 'at moſt of the Bleedings. They ask'd him, if he had 'not ſaid to divers Perſons, that the Diſeaſe was Mor-'tal? He reply'd, That he did judge that 'twas like 'to prove ſo, ſaving that 'tis common to hope, as 'long as there is Breath; That for the reſt, he ob-'ſerv'd the ſwelling of the Belly of the Prioreſs to be

'leſs

'less than usual the last Day that he saw her, and 'only a great Weakness; which oblig'd him to order her a Suppository, and to cause her to take 'two Yolks of Eggs. They ask'd him, if he did 'not own the Letter writ by him to *Laubardemont*? 'To which he answer'd, that he did own it. Being demanded, if an Hour after he had writ it, 'he did not go to the Convent, and saw the Prioress up, drest, and in good Health? He said, 'That he went indeed to the Convent two Hours 'after he had writ the Letter shew'd to him; That 'being enter'd into the Chamber, where he had visited the sick Person, and not finding her in Bed, 'he believ'd at first that she might be dead, but that 'they shew'd him her kneeling against the Wall, with 'the greatest part of the Nuns of the Convent; That 'two Nuns lifted her up under the Arms and follow'd 'her; That she came towards him, being but the 'length of an Ell from him, that she walk'd very 'slow, saying to him, I thank you for the Assistances 'you have given me, I am much oblig'd to you; 'That he felt her Pulse, and found it very weak, 'and that she pray'd him to excuse her, if she laid 'her self upon the Bed, because of her great Weakness; That after he had again felt her Pulse, he 'went out of the Chamber, and return'd to his 'own House; That the next Day about four in 'the Afternoon, she sent to him a Maid, who entreated him on her behalf, to come and see her; 'but that he answer'd, That he pray'd the Superior to excuse him if he did not, after having 'been told in her Chamber, that she was well, 'being nevertheless well inform'd of the Condition wherein he had left her the Night before. 'Being ask'd why he answer'd not the same things 'to the Interrogatory which was put to him by

'*Laubardemont* the 14th of *February*? He an-
'ſwer'd, That he might not be oblig'd to contra-
'dict plainly the noiſe that was ſpread abroad of
'that Cure, he had pray'd him to be ſatisfied with
'the Certificate he ſhould give concerning the
'Diſeaſe. Whereupon they ask'd him, if ſeeing
'the Prioreſs perfectly recover'd, he did not ſay,
'That there was ſomething extraordinary in it,
'and that the Phyſicians in their Prognoſtications
'never exclude the Power of God? And if, in
'effect, he refus'd not to go ſee the Prioreſs, out
'of a deſign to exempt himſelf from giving his
'Teſtimony of what he acknowledg'd extraordi-
'nary and ſupernatural in her Recovery, for fear
'of diſpleaſing the Party of thoſe of the *Pre-
'tended Reformed Religion*? He ſaid, That he had
'not found, and much leſs judg'd, her recover'd,
'as appear'd by what he had already ſaid, and
'that he went out without having utter'd the
'Word *Extroardinary*, nor any other like it;
'That the Phyſicians never exclude the Power
'of God for the Cure of Diſeaſes; That, on
'the contrary, they have recourſe to him as to
'a Sovereign Phyſician, without whoſe Bleſſing
'upon Food and Phyſick, they believ'd not any
'Cure poſſible; That he never refus'd to give his
'Certificate concerning the Diſeaſes of the Prio-
'reſs; That the Letter of the 7th of *February*, writ-
'ten at the Requeſt of the Nuns, contain'd many
'things which might be declar'd and ſet forth by
'a Certificate, but that it contain'd them not ſo
'preciſely, having not been oblig'd to be ſo pun-
'ctual and ſtrict in a Letter requir'd of him, and
'writ in haſte, without circumſpection, and which
'ought not to bear ſo good Teſtimony in a Court
'of Judicature, as a Certificate made by Order of

'a Judge, and ſubſcrib'd by him; That for the reſt 'he had not writ the Letter in compliance with 'the deſire of the Nuns, but to give notice to him '(*Laubardemont*) of the condition of the ſaid Prio-'reſs, becauſe of the aſſurance which they had, that 'he would give more credit to what ſhould be writ 'to him by a Phyſician, then to what ſhould be 'writ to him by others, believing that the deſign of 'the ſaid Nuns was only to cauſe him to come to '*Loudun*, which they ſaid would be much for their 'intereſt; They aſk'd him again if he own'd not 'that the Contents of his Letter to be true? He re-'ply'd, that they were in ſome ſort true, not ſo 'exact as things ought to be declar'd by a Certi-'ficate; It being uſual for Men to take more liberty 'in a Letter to expreſs themſelves, which is not 'fit to bear Teſtimony in a Court of Judicature, 'as when one is to ſet down a Truth to be certifi-'ed and affirm'd. The Intendant aſk'd him in fine, 'how he judg'd that the Prioreſs had been able to 'paſs from that condition of Extremity repreſent-'ed by him, to that in which he ſaw her an hour 'after? He anſwer'd, that her Condition was not 'ſo very extream, but however that might hap-'pen, as 'tis every day to be ſeen in the Motions of 'Nature, by the evacuation of ſome ſenſible hu-'mour, or by the excretion which is inſenſibly 'made through the Pores of the Body, or elſe by 'the removal of the humour from the place where 'it cauſeth ſuch accidents, to another part leſs con-'ſiderable. That moreover ſome troubleſome Symp-'toms which are produc'd by the humour being 'in one certain place, may be ſeen aſſwag'd with-'out neceſſity of changing the part, which hap-'pens by the mitigation of the humour allay'd by 'Nature, or by the coming of another humour which

'is leſs acute, which may take off the Acrimony 'of the former; That the manifeſt Evacuation is 'made by Urine, by Stool, or by Vomits, Sweats, 'and loſs of Blood; That the inſenſible Excretion 'is, when the parts are inſenſibly diſcharg'd, which 'kinds of Excretion are oftener made in Diſeaſes, 'which are caus'd by hot Humours, and chiefly 'from Choler, without any ſigns of Concoction, 'which precede ſuch Excretions, although it may 'be for the diſcharge of Nature, and by way of 'a Criſis; And that for the cure of Diſeaſes, there 'ought naturally to go out of the Body leſs Hu-'mours, when they are evacuated by Remedies, 'which not only carry off the antecedent Cauſe of 'the Diſeaſes, but alſo the preſent; and that the 'Humours in their Motions obſerve certain regular 'Hours.

Sect. 74. Theſe Anſwers which contain'd ſo long an account of the Maxims and Practices of Phy-ſick, being not what *Laubardemont* ſought for; 'He 'continued to interrogate *Fanton*, and aſk'd him, 'if he did not take notice that the Prioreſs had not 'had any Criſis from the time he writ to the time he 'viſited her again, and that the alteration of her 'condition, repreſented by his Letter, could not have 'been ſo quickly wrought by natural Cauſes, and e-'ven by thoſe he had mention'd in his laſt Anſwer? 'To whom he anſwer'd, That he was not able 'to judge of that, having but juſt gone in and out 'the laſt time he ſaw the Prioreſs, and having not 'examin'd what had paſs'd during his Abſence; 'But that very often it happens to a Phyſician, 'to ſee ſuch, whom he had deſpair'd of, to become 'better two Hours after; Whence the *Latin Hyp-pocrates, Celſius,* relates that ſometimes there happens 'wonders in Phyſick. The Intendant, not finding

'yet his account in these Answers, ask'd him, 'if he had not conferr'd with *Duncan* about what 'he was to answer concerning the Sickness of the 'Prioress and her Recovery? He answer'd, not, and 'that he had not seen him since the 14th of *February*, and had not held any communication with him 'by Letters; That in Truth he had seen him before that day, but that he had neither ask'd him 'any advice touching that matter, nor had he really receiv'd any. *Laubardemont* then reproach'd 'him that he had not fully told the Truth, that 'he had involv'd it in a great number of Words, to 'the end that it might be less understood, having 'been induc'd to do it by those of the *Pretended Reform'd Religion*, and that he advis'd him to tell 'the whole Truth. Whereupon *Fanton* declar'd that 'he had told it, and that he had not spoke of that 'affair but by meeting accidentally which some 'of his Kindred and Friends, whom he had never 'call'd together for that purpose. He said further, 'that he remembr'd not that the Prioress seeing him, 'the 7th of *February* in the Evening, had said to him 'that God had miraculously Cur'd her; That 'indeed a Jesuit, whom he believ'd to be her Exorcist, told him, when the Prioress was laid upon 'the Bed, that wonderful things were done by the 'intervention of St. *George* or St. *Joseph* [which of 'the two he knew not] and that the Father had 'added, that he was neither a Prophet nor a Prophet's Son, nevertheless that he knew well what 'would happen, and that he had often spoke to 'him of it. He was ask'd if before the Extreme Unction was given to the Prioress, he was 'not ask'd, whether she were in such a condition, 'that they ought to give it her? He reply'd, that 'the 5th or 6th of *February*, going out of the Prio-

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'resses Chamber, he was follow'd by *Demorans* and
'one of the Jesuits, who enquir'd of him, if he
'judg'd that it was necessary that the Prio-
'ress should have the *Extreme Unction*? Where-
'unto he answer'd, that his Judgment ought not to
'be follow'd, being of a Religion which was
'mistrusted by them, and that however to con-
'tent them, he said, that he had seen it given to
'them, who were not more sick than she. All the
'Interrogatories above mention'd, and his Answers
'having been read to him, he sign'd them, and
'*Laubardemont* dismist him.

Sect. 75. *Fanton*'s Answers do sufficiently shew, that he was a little deceiv'd in his conjectures of the Superior's Sickness, and that he had thought it greater then it really was, upon the relations that she made him of what she felt as well in her Side, as elsewhere, upon the difficulties of breathing that she mention'd her self to have during the few Moments that he was by her; upon the quality of the Excrements, Blood, and other things which they caus'd him to see, as if she had really voided them, and that they had not been alter'd and put for him to see, in such a condition as they ought to have been, that they might make him give such a Judgment as they desir'd; or else whether they did shew him the Excrements of some other sick Person, and he always affirm'd since in his Family, and to his more particular Friends, 'That the matter must needs
'be so, because he had never seen any Exrements
'that the sick Person had voided in his presence;
'That as he was uncapable to commit an impo-
'sture, he did not imagine that they would put
'one upon him, whatever occasion he might have
'to think so, by the reflections which he ought to
'have made upon the Intrigues of these Nuns,

'and by the Delusions of which they had been suspected by the Publick; That he ought to have consider'd, that the Superior knew well how to make her Throat and her Tongue to swell, and to make extraordinary Contorsions during her Exorcisms; She might as well make her self swell, and feign an oppression before her Physician, and counterfeit a retraction of her Arms, which however it was, they remain'd still in the same condition after he had given over visiting her; That for the rest, during the time he had visited her, she had a very violent Feaver, and all the signs of a great Sickness upon her Countenance; That this is all the certain Testimony that he could give, nothing having been more easie then to cheat him in the rest, as well because the Circumstances of the matter might permit it, as because he had not any suspicion of the Cheat, and that he had not made any particular examination of those circumstances upon that account; But that he durst not reason so boldly in his Interrogatories upon the suspicions he then had, or upon the easiness that there had been to delude him upon that occasion, nor upon the apparent signs that there were that they had really cousen'd him; And that he was content to say only the truth upon the matters which were propos'd to him, because it would have been dangerous for him to have done otherwise, and that the consequences would not have fail'd to be very fatal to him and all his Family.

Sect. 76. The following Year 1638. the famous Father *Tranquille* died. He was a Capucin-Preacher, the most renown'd of all the Exorcists then remaining. He made, a little before he died, horrible Cryings out, which were heard by all the Neigh-

Neighbours of the Convent of the Capucins, and the report being quickly ſpread abroad in the Town, there were a number of People, who went towards the Convent, and into the neareſt Streets, to the intent they might hear his Cries, and to be Witneſſes themſelves, if what was ſaid of it were true. There went not any Perſon who was not convinc'd, nor ought there to be any at this day unſatisfied of the Truth of that matter, who conſiders the relation of the circumſtances of his death, which was publiſh'd by a Capucin, and whereof this is the Extract.

Sect. 77. ' Father *Tranquille* was a Native of St. ' *Remi* in *Anjou*; He was the moſt famous Preach-' er of his time. His Vow of Obedience call'd ' him to the Exorciſms of *Loudun.* The Devils ' dreading this Enemy, went to meet him to fright-' en him, if it had been poſſible for them; and ' they made him feel ſuch a Weakneſs in his Legs ' upon the way, that he thought to ſtop, and go ' no further. He was four Years in the Employ-' ment of an Exorciſt; during which God puri-' fied him by Tribulation, as Gold in the Fur-' nace. He thought at firſt that he ſhould quickly ' expel the Devils, being ſupported by the Autho-' rity which the Church has receiv'd of our Lord: ' But having found by Experience that he was de-' ceived, he reſolv'd to have Patience, and to at-' tend the Will of God. He was willing to ab-' ſtain from Preaching, fearing that his Talent ' ſhould be a Snare to him, and to raiſe Pride in ' him, and he gave himſelf wholly to Exorciſm. ' The Devils ſeeing his Humility, conceiv'd ſo ' great a Rage, that they reſolv'd to incamp in his ' Body. All Hell aſſembled for that purpoſe; and ' nevertheleſs it could not cauſe him to be either ' beſieg'd or fully poſſeſs'd, God having not per-

'mitted it. 'Tis true, that the Devils threw them-'selves into his inward and outward Senses; they 'overturn'd him on the Ground,; they cry'd out, 'and sware by his Mouth; they made him thrust 'out his Tongue, hissing like a Serpent; they 'bound his Head, press'd his Heart, and made 'him endure a thousand other Pains: But in the 'midst of all these Evils his Spirit kept united to 'God, and with the assistance of his Companion 'he readily routed the Devil which tormented 'him; who cry'd out sometimes by his Mouth, '*Oh, how I suffer!* The other Fryers and Exor-'cists pitied Father *Tranquille* in his Sufferings, 'but he was pleas'd with them wonderfully; and 'there was this difference between him and *Job*, 'that God suffer'd not the Devil to touch the Life 'of the last, whereas he gave up to him the Life 'of Father *Tranquille*. When he felt the Tempta-'tion of the Flesh, he resisted readily the deceit-'ful Allurements of *Satan*; he cry'd out extream-'ly to his Confessor, he entreated him to have 'pity on him, and was not asham'd to discover 'to him the Assaults of that stinking Owl of 'Hell, and that he might effect it more easily, 'he cast himself into the Arms of the Virgin, 'his particular Advocate, for whom he had so 'great a Devotion, that he had put an Iron Chain 'about his Neck, in the Quality of her Slave, to 'the end that he might say in truth to that Queen 'of Virgins, *My dear Mistress, I am your Slave; 'Alas! suffer not that your Enemies and mine should 'ever seize on him who belongs to you.* When the 'Devil of Pride tempted him, he conceal'd from 'the Eyes of Men, as well his Sufferings as his 'Actions of Virtue, and he call'd that, *Hiding his 'Life in Jesus Christ.* Then he took St. *Joseph*

'for

‘ for his Patron, whoſe Life has been in ſuch a ‘ manner conceal'd, that many Ages are paſt with- ‘ out People's having been inclin'd to invoke and ‘ reverence him according to his Merits. He re- ‘ quir'd not that it might be permitted him to ‘ do publick Penances above the common Sort, to ‘ the end that he might not ſeem more perfect ‘ than others : And to obtain a more profound ‘ Humility, he took for his Advocate the humble ‘ St. *Francis*, his Seraphick Father. Having been ‘ ſollicited by a great Miniſter of State to quit ‘ his Employment, to ſerve God and the King in ‘ a place where he ſhould bring forth more Fruit, ‘ he anſwer'd him, That it behov'd him to over- ‘ come, or die in the Field of Battle, where his ‘ Obedience had planted him. His Humility was ‘ ſo great, that he ſaid, he thought himſelf un- ‘ worthy of all Conſolation. The Devils have of- ‘ ten been deſirous to beget in him a diſliking of ‘ his Perfection; but their Attempt was in vain; ‘ and his Courage was ſo great, that he often ‘ pray'd his Seraphick Father St. *Francis*, to give ‘ him part of his continual Sufferings, but not of ‘ his Conſolations, which he wholly renounc'd, ‘ becauſe he deſerv'd them not. In fine, when he ‘ was provok'd to Anxiety of Mind by ſome Devil ‘ of Impatience, he invok'd preſently the Glori- ‘ ous St. *Bonadventure*, with the Bleſſed St. *Francis* ‘ *de Sales*, who were rendred famous to the World ‘ by their Meekneſs and Affability. The Devils ‘ having reſolv'd to kill him, the Magicians re- ‘ doubled their Sorcery, and God, by a Secret, but ‘ very Juſt, Judgment, ſuffer'd them to do it. ‘ They aſſaulted him more vehemently than ever ‘ upon *Whitſunday*, when he was to preach; and ‘ the time for his Sermon being come, he found

'himself not dispos'd. His Confessor commanded 'the Devil to leave him at liberty, and the Father 'to go up into the Pulpit upon his Obedience; 'which he did, and preach'd more to the satisfacti-'on of his Auditors, than if he had spent whole 'Weeks in Study. He did Wonders upon the De-'scent of the Holy Spirit; and 'twas then that he 'rendred to the same Holy Spirit the fiery Tongue 'which he had receiv'd, because that was the last 'of his Sermons. After that Sermon the Devils 'afflicted him more than before. He said Mass 'three or four Days, at the ending whereof he was 'constrain'd to keep his Bed till *Monday*, when 'he died. He vomited much Filth, which was 'judg'd to be so many Pacts, from the Expulsi-'on whereof there was still hop'd some Relief; but 'the Surgeon found him very ill, and said, That if 'God did not suddenly stop the Course of that Dia-'bolical Operation, 'twas impossible that he should 'subsist; for as soon as he had taken any Nou-'rishment, though with an Appetite, the Devils 'caus'd him to cast it up, with such violent Pal-'pitations of his Heart, that the soundest Person 'might have burst. They caus'd him Pains in 'his Head and Heart, of such a kind, whereof 'there is no mention in *Galen* or *Hyppocrates*; and 'to express their Nature well, one must have suf-'fer'd them like that good Father. They cry'd 'and roar'd out of his Mouth; but in the mean time 'he had always his Judgment free. All these 'Torments were join'd to a continual Feaver, and 'to divers other Accidents, which cannot be 'comprehended by those that have not seen them, 'and who have not the Experience of the ways by 'which the Devils act upon Men's Bodies. The 'Devils encreas'd exceedingly the Pain of the Pa-

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'tient the Night before his Deceaſe; which they 'hop'd to haſten, by cauſing him to render his 'Soul by an approaching and extraordinary Vomiting, to the end that he might die without being 'perceiv'd; their Intention being to tarniſh alſo 'the Luſtre of his Death, and to avoid themſelves 'the Laſh of the laſt Remedies, which the Church 'has been accuſtom'd to make a devout uſe of, 'upon theſe occaſions. They did then what they 'could to make him be left by the Fryer that 'watch'd with him: They made a continual Noiſe 'on one ſide or other in the *Infirmery*, which would 'quickly have put to flight one leſs reſolute than that 'Fryer, who, in ſpite, of them, continu'd firm and 'courageious to aſſiſt the ſick Perſon in the violence of his Vomiting, wherein he caſt up much 'Filth, ſtinking ſo horribly, and which was ſo 'intolerable, that they were forc'd to throw it 'out of the Window without delay, ſo much 'it did infect the Chamber. The next Morning 'his Brethren, the Fryers, perceiv'd that God 'would give way, and take off his Reſtraint on the 'Powers of Hell over the Life of their Patient, who 'pray'd them to give him the Extream Unction, 'when they ſaw he ſhould have need of it. About 'Noon one knocked at the Door, to know, if 'what the Devil had newly declar'd at the Exorciſm were true, *viz.* That Father *Tranquille* was 'departing, and that he could not hold out longer; which being found true, the Extream Unction 'was given him; after which his bleſſed Soul took 'its flight to Heaven, to receive there the Crown 'which one may piouſly believe was prepar'd for 'him, after having fought ſo Couragiouſly, and 'conquer'd ſo Glorиouſly. For if thoſe are the 'cruelleſt who deſtroy the Life of any one, be-

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'cause he maintains the Glory of his God and his 'Master, so is he so much more excellent, there 'being not more subtle Tyrants than the Devils, 'who were the Executioners that put to death the 'humble *Tranquille*, for supporting the Glory of 'God; and because of the Charity which he had 'for his Neighbour, he could not consequently be 'more excellently Martyrized, and afterwards more 'gloriously crown'd. It was thus that he died in 'the 43d Year of his Age, and the 23d since his 'Admission into the Religion of the Capucins. 'He was visited, during his Sickness, by a num-'ber of Persons of Honour, who return'd greatly 'comforted with his Words. His Patience was so 'great, that he desir'd not even the things for 'which he had an Inclination, but he took all in-'differently that was prescrib'd him. The De-'vils, inrag'd to see so Heroick a Virtue, cry'd 'out often by his Mouth in these Words, O, *how 'I suffer! I suffer more than all the Devils together, 'and than all the damned.* In brief, it was a very 'War in Hell to them, to find a Soul so gene-'rous in the Body which they tormented. He was 'open'd after his Death, to see if there remain'd 'in his Body any Effects of Sorcery, but there 'were none found. The time of his Interment 'being come, they carry'd his Body into the 'Church, which was fill'd with People. They 'had no sooner set him down to perform the Ser-'vice, but the People flew upon him to touch their 'Beads: Others cut off pieces of his Habit, which 'they kept as precious Relicks. The Croud was 'so great that they broke the Coffin, and mov'd 'the Body from I know not how many places, 'every one drawing it to him, to have his piece: 'Insomuch that he would really have been left

'ſtark-naked, if ſome Perſons of Honour had not 'interpos'd themſelves round about, to ſecure him 'from the indiſcreet Devotion of the People, who 'having cut in pieces his Habit, might poſſibly 'have committed ſome Exceſs upon the Body it 'ſelf. A Jeſuit made the Funeral Oration: The 'Prieſts of the Town came in Proceſſion at his 'Interment: The Regulars and Seculars offer'd the 'Sacrifice of the Maſs for the Repoſe of his Soul. 'And one of the Magiſtrates having got leave to 'ſet a Tomb over his Grave, he put this Epitaph 'upon it; *Here lieth the humble Father* Tranquille '*of St.* Remi, *a Capucin Preacher. The Devils be-*'*ing no more able to endure his Courage in his Em-*'*ployment of Exorciſt, they caus'd him to die by their* '*Vexations, induc'd thereto by the Magicians, the laſt* '*of* May 1638. The ſaid Writings contain'd al-ſo other conſiderable Particulars of the Sickneſs of that Exorciſt, with what follow'd after his Death, which well deſerve to be inſerted here: Which is, 'That when they adminiſtred to him the Extream 'Unction, the Devils, feeling the Efficacy of that 'Sacrament, were oblig'd to raiſe the Siege: But ''twas not to go very far, foraſmuch as they en-'tred into the Body of a good Father, a very Re-'ligious Perſon, who was there preſent, and whom 'they have ever ſince poſſeſs'd, whom they 'vex'd preſently with Contorſions, and very 'ſtrange and violent Agitations, with thruſting out 'of his Tongue, and very frightful Howlings, 'redoubling alſo their Rage at each Unction that 'they made upon the ſick Perſon, and encreaſing 'it again at the ſight of the moſt Holy Sacrament, 'which was ſent for, becauſe the Real Preſence 'of that Man and God altogether, forc'd them to 'let him die in Peace, for whom in this laſt Paſ-

'sage they would willingly have laid ſome Snare. 'Alſo at that very inſtant of his Death, out of Fury and Rage that they could no longer lay 'claim to him, they cry'd out horribly, *He is dead*; as who would ſay, *All is done, there is no more hope for us of that Soul.* Afterwards ruſhing 'upon the other poor Fryers, they agitated him 'ſo ſtrangely and ſo horribly, that although he 'was held by a great many Fryers, they could 'not however hinder that he ſhould not kick out 'with his Feet toward the deceaſed Perſon, till 'he was carried out from thence; And he continued thus ſtrongly and cruelly agitated Day 'and Night till after the Burial; ſo that they 'were conſtrain'd to leave always ſome Fryers to 'attend him. The next Day after the Burial, a 'Devil being adjur'd to adore the Providence of 'God in the death of Father *Tranquille*, he 'threw the Perſon poſſeſſed againſt the Ground, 'and ſaid, *I adore the Providence of God in the death of his Saint Father* Tranquille, *who has always glorioſly triumph'd, even to the end of his Life.* Another Devil being likewiſe exorcis'd, 'went upon the Grave, which he trampled with 'his Feet, after clawing with his Hands, and 'throwing the Earth from ſide to ſide, as if he 'would take him out; and caſting upon him 'great Stones, with a furious Look he utter'd 'theſe Words; *Come out you Hangman, come out there.* Whereupon being ask'd, why he perſecuted him thus after his death? he acted a long 'while with the Hands of the Maid, and after an 'extreamly inrag'd manner, the ſame Poſtures, 'which a Perſon doth who kneads Dough: He 'was urg'd to explain himſelf clearly by Words: '*'Tis*, ſaid he, *becauſe he dealt thus with me.*

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'As if he had said, I persecute him after that 'manner, to testifie the rage that I have a-'gainst him, because he doth now by me, as 'the Baker doth by his Dough, who tosses and 'tumbles it as he thinks good; to which he 'added, *He burns me more than ever.* He swore 'also, *That 'twas they and the Magicians that 'kill'd him, but that they were all much out in 'their reckoning, because in doing that, they imagin'd 'they should oveturn one of the Principal Supports of 'the poor Possessed Maids, and of the best Protectors 'they had with God and Men; But that at present he 'supported them more powerfully and more effectually 'than ever, because of the great Power which he had 'with God; so that thinking to gain much, they had 'lost all. Besides that, he attested with an Oath, that 'the Seraphic Father St.* Francis *was at the Bolster of 'the dying Father, where he receiv'd his Soul, and put 'it into the Hands of the Virgin, who presented it to 'her Son at the Foot of the Cross, because he had born 'it; that before God he was a Martyr, whom Hell 'had Martyriz'd, and that as he had been* Tranquille '*in his Life, and his Death, he was also* Tranquille '*in his Glory.* At last the Exorcist having con-'demn'd him to do an honourable Penance, and 'to ask pardon in the name of all Hell, of him 'whom they durst put to death; in the end he obey'd, 'after much resistance, Kissing the Grave in two 'places, which answer'd the two parts of the Body 'where they had most cruelly afflicted him, the 'Head and the Heart, saying, *That his greatest pain 'had been there*; Then coming to the Foot of the 'Grave, he kist it again, and prostrating humbly 'before it, he said, *I, Leviathan* [thus this Devil call'd 'himself, who is the chief of all the Devils of the 'Possession] *I ask pardon in the Name of all Hell,*

'of

'sage they would willingly have laid some Snare. 'Also at that very instant of his Death, out of Fury and Rage that they could no longer lay claim to him, they cry'd out horribly, *He is dead*; as who would say, *All is done, there is no more hope for us of that Soul.* Afterwards rushing upon the other poor Fryers, they agitated him so strangely and so horribly, that although he was held by a great many Fryers, they could not however hinder that he should not kick out with his Feet toward the deceased Person, till he was carried out from thence; And he continued thus strongly and cruelly agitated Day and Night till after the Burial; so that they were constrain'd to leave always some Fryers to attend him. The next Day after the Burial, a Devil being adjur'd to adore the Providence of God in the death of Father *Tranquille*, he threw the Person possessed against the Ground, and said, *I adore the Providence of God in the death of his Saint Father* Tranquille, *who has always gloriously triumph'd, even to the end of his Life.* Another Devil being likewise exorcis'd, went upon the Grave, which he trampled with his Feet, after clawing with his Hands, and throwing the Earth from side to side, as if he would take him out; and casting upon him great Stones, with a furious Look he utter'd these Words; *Come out you Hangman, come out there.* Whereupon being ask'd, why he persecuted him thus after his death? he acted a long while with the Hands of the Maid, and after an extreamly inrag'd manner, the same Postures, which a Person doth who kneads Dough: He was urg'd to explain himself clearly by Words: '*'Tis*, said he, *because he dealt thus with me.*

'As

'As if he had said, I persecute him after that 'manner, to testifie the rage that I have a'gainst him, because he doth now by me, as 'the Baker doth by his Dough, who tosses and 'tumbles it as he thinks good; to which he 'added, *He burns me more than ever.* He swore 'also, *That 'twas they and the Magicians that 'kill'd him, but that they were all much out in 'their reckoning, because in doing that, they imagin'd 'they should ovetu rn one of the Principal Supports of 'the poor Possessed Maids, and of the best Protectors 'they had with God and Men; But that at present he 'supported them more powerfully and more effectually 'than ever, because of the great Power which he had 'with God; so that thinking to gain much, they had 'lost all. Besides that, he attested with an Oath, that 'the Seraphic Father St.* Francis *was at the Bolster of 'the dying Father, where he receiv'd his Soul, and put 'it into the Hands of the Virgin, who presented it to 'her Son at the Foot of the Cross, because he had born 'it; that before God he was a Martyr, whom Hell 'had Martyriz'd, and that as he had been* Tranquille '*in his Life, and his Death, he was also* Tranquille '*in his Glory.* At last the Exorcist having con'demn'd him to do an honourable Penance, and 'to ask pardon in the name of all Hell, of him 'whom they durst put to death; in the end he obey'd, 'after much resistance, Kissing the Grave in two 'places, which answer'd the two parts of the Body 'where they had most cruelly afflicted him, the 'Head and the Heart, saying, *That his greatest pain 'had been there*; Then coming to the Foot of the 'Grave, he kist it again, and prostrating humbly 'before it, he said, *I, Leviathan* [thus this Devil call'd 'himself, who is the chief of all the Devils of the 'Possession] *I ask pardon in the Name of all Hell,*

'*of*

'*of that Servant of God whom we have caus'd to* '*die.*

Sect. 78. What ground for Reflection doth not that History printed the 29th of *August* 1638. furnish the Incredulous with? They conclude, that the vexation of the Devils, if it were true, or at least the torments of Father *Tranquille*, which were but too real, and which could not proceed but from the remorse and agitations of a tortur'd Conscience, were very sensible Marks of the Severity of the Judgments of God, who permits that the Devils, or the Ideas of Devils and of Hell should thus torment at the hour of death these pretended Exorcists, who whilst they liv'd, so impudently mock'd both Hell, the Devils, and God himself; That otherwise supposing that the Devils had acted after a sensible and immediate manner upon this Capucin, the Consequence which his Panegyrist drew from thence to prove the Sanctity of the Deceased, was false and that it ought to be retorted upon him: Because there are found in the Scripture but two Examples, at most, of the faithful immediately afflicted in their Persons by the Ministry of Devils, *viz. Job* under the Old Testament, and possibly the Apostle St. *Paul* under the New, which shews that God suffer'd very rarely that that should happen. That if sometimes he employ'd those evil Spirits to afflict his Children, we do not read that he made use of them to take away their Lives, and there is no appearance that he permits the Devils to attempt it, because the Life of the Righteous is too precious before him, to give it them for a Prey. That seeing that they allow that the Devils *were the Executioners, who had put to Death the humble* Tranquille, it must necessarily be concluded that he had well deserv'd to be

'their

their Martyr. Likewise, *that he wonderfully delighted himself in sufferings*, which happen'd to him upon their Account, and preferr'd them before all the Consolations which might have come to him from elsewhere. But whether that so many horrible Oaths, so many dreadful Blasphemies, and so many other words of Despair having been utter'd by the Operation of Evil Spirits, and that they did really torment that unhappy Father, when he exprest them, and that he cry'd, thrusting out his Tongue, and hissing like a Serpent; Whether he has done all these things by the only perverseness of Nature, and without being otherwise possess'd than by his Despair, his condition had far less resemblance to that of a just Person, who never fails to have recourse to his God when he is under Sufferings and an Agony, than to that of a Reprobate, who testifies that his Punishment is greater then he can bear, as it appears by the frightful Words which that unhappy Person spake, *Ah! how I suffer, I suffer more than all the Devils together, and than all the damned.* Words worthy of the rest of his Actions, his Thoughts, his Devotions, worthy of a dying Man, who amongst so many Patrons that he chose, forgot and left out Jesus Christ the only Mediator, whom the Father had given him. Words, in fine, worthy of a Man who renounc'd Spiritual Consolations and the Sweetness which they produce in the Soul. In the mean time, because it pleas'd the Monks to bestow upon so many horrible Things, I know not what, false Lights of Merit and Sanctity, in attributing boldly the name of Virtue to Vices, and that of a quiet death to a death most terrible; to a death accompanied with horrible torments and dreadful Cries; The People suffer'd themselves not only to be surpriz'd with these weak allurements, but they seem'd persuaded

suaded and prepossess'd to that degree as to run in Crouds to the Coffin of the dead Man, and to tear his Habit in pieces, which had an extraordinary Stench and Nastiness, because besides the Vomitings and Ordures of his Decease, there happen'd to him yet other Accidents after his Death. The Relations above mention'd evidence the Truth of these Matters, and all the most sensible Persons of both Religions, who were then alive, and some of whom are living at this day, have attested the most considerable things, which could come to their knowledge, assuring that it was with an Astonishment and Indignation which cannot be exprest, that they saw the furious fits of the indiscreet Devotion.

Sect. 79. After the death of that *Heroe*, the Possession produc'd no more Miracles. The possessed Seculars went to the Exorcisms at certain hours, as some go to take a Walk; when they were ask'd on the way, if they were yet possess'd? *Yes*, said they, *Thanks be to God.* 'Twas advis'd sometimes to ask the other Bigots, who went daily to behold that Sport, if they were not also possessed, they answer'd, *We are not so happy, God has not lov'd us enough for that.* But the fatal Blow to that diabolical Inrtigue was the cutting off 4000 Livres Pension, which the King gave for the charges and expences of the Exorcists. This cross accident proceeded from this, that since the death of *Grandier*, Cardinal *de Richelieu* had no more a particular concern in that affair; and from what Madam *de Combalet* his Niece had assur'd him, that this Game was so ill play'd, that he must be a very Chouse to believe it, which made the Cardinal conclude, that if he suffer'd it to continue a longer time, that would serve but to discover further

ther the Injuſtice which had been committed in the death of *Grandier*. Beſides, he did not much concern himſelf in the deſign which the Monks had to eſtabliſh a kind of Inquiſition; Poſſibly alſo that in his Heart he did diſlike it, and that he had not allow'd of all their management both at *Loudun* and at *Chinon*, and in many other Places of *France*, but that he might not diſcontent them, at a time when he might have need of them; being aſſur'd that he could eaſily ſtop them, when he judg'd it fit, and when they ſhould become uſeleſs or inconvenient. Beſides the Fathers *Lactance* and *Tranquille*, the two Principal Supporters of the Poſſeſſion, who had had a very great reputation both by themſelves and by Father *Joſeph*, who protected them, were no longer in being, and the manner, in which they ended their days, had been ſo ſtrange, that almoſt all thoſe who were engag'd on the behalf of the Poſſeſſion, how reſolute ſoever they had always been before in the purſuit of their deſigns, did not fail to be ſhaken, and to make ſome reflections, which troubled them and put them into diſorder. If there were ſome who could perſiſt yet, and not be touch'd by the examples which they had before their Eyes, they were much concern'd at the loſs of the Penſion, which made them at laſt reſolve to take no more ſuch extraordinary Pains, which were like to be ſo ill recompenc'd. *Mignon* alſo, whoſe hatred was ſatisfied, and revenge glutted by the death of *Grandier*, was glad to ſee the end of ſo dangerous an Intrigue, from which he was not to hope any fur-

ther advantage to himſelf. For he had too much Wit not to know that the Poſſeſſion was already but too much decry'd, and that the applauſe which it had whilſt the Government was favourable to it, was very much diminiſh'd, when 'twas known abroad that it would be no more ſupported by their Authority; and that the Court ſeem'd inclin'd to be no further concern'd. They brought no more the Poſſeſſed ſo often to the Exorciſms; and they left off at laſt by little and little to bring them, upon a Pretence that they would no more exorcize but in private. In effect, the Superior having not been conducted to the Tomb of the Biſhop of *Geneva*, God provided in ſecret for her Cure, becauſe Men neglected to do their endeavours in it. *Behemot* was driven out with little noiſe, and without other Witneſſes than the Exorciſts and Confederates in the Poſſeſſion; amongſt which number there were ſome Magiſtrates with *Laubardemont*, who, altogether ſecretly, and without the knowledge of the Publick, made Verbal Proceſſes of the pretended Miracles that were wrought at the going out of this laſt Devil, to be put amongſt the Papers, which might one day be uſeful for the Canonization of the Superior of the *Urſulines* of *Loudun*.

Sect. 80. But the Poſſeſſion at *Chinon* having had its beginning much later then that of *Loudun*, it continued alſo a little longer time. For in the Year 1640 there was one of the Poſſeſſed named *Beloquin*, who being provok'd by ſome violent Paſſion againſt a Prieſt call'd *Giloire*,

or

or ſollicited by ſome of his Enemies, caus'd a Pullet to be bought by a Woman, her Neighbour, and having let out the Blood, ſhe preſerv'd it in a Viol, and eat at night the Pullet in the Company of that Neighbour who bought it, and of another Man, one of her Friends, whom ſhe had invited, to whom, without doubt, ſhe did not impart her deſign. The next day ſhe went very early into the Church of St. *James*, as it were to perform her Devotions and finding no Body there, ſhe went to the Altar, and pour'd the Blood out of the Glaſs upon the Linen-Cloth which cover'd it. When *Barré* the Curate of that Church came thither, and went to the Altar, he made great enquiries to know how that Blood came there; Whereupon receiving no information from Men, he interrogated the Devil of *Beloquin*, who being urg'd by the Exorciſm, anſwer'd that it came from the Maid her ſelf. That it was the Prieſt *Giloire*, who being inform'd by Magical Art, met the Maid in the Church very early in the Morning, as ſhe came to perform her Devotions, and that he had raviſh'd her upon the Altar. That Declaration, which caus'd a horrour in all good Catholicks, and which at firſt held ſome others in ſuſpence, open'd the Eyes of her Neighbours who had bought the Pullet; She diſcover'd her ſuſpicions to another Friend, who could not hold her Peace, ſo that the Report thereof began to ſpread abroad till it came to the Ears of the Lieutenant Criminal. This Magiſtrate making a very ſtrict enquiry, came at laſt to the very riſe of that Report. The Friend and the Neighbour of *Beloquin*, who had eaten the Pullet, were

ſent for and interrogated; They declar'd what they knew and what they ſuſpected. The Verbal Proceſs of their Examination was taken in writing and ſent to the Archbiſhop of *Tours*. *Beloquin* who had notice of it, took at a *Pewterer's* Houſe of *Chinon* a leaden Buckle, which ſhe put into her Matrix, and bound it in with a Napkin, complaining bitterly of the Pains ſhe felt by ſtoppage of Urine, which was caus'd her by the Sorceries of certain Magicians. She deſir'd afterwards of the Eccleſiaſticks, who were Exorciſts at *Chinon* to be conducted to *Tours* before the Archbiſhop, to receive from that Prelate, by the Authority of the Church, ſome relief to the Pains ſhe endur'd. But ſome Spies amongſt the Friends of *Beloquin* having been miſinform'd, gave her falſe advice, and the Archbiſhop favourable to the Poſſeſſion, was not to be met with in his Dioceſs. The Coadjutor, who ſupplied his Place, heard quietly the afflicted Perſon, and promis'd to aſſiſt her, and for that effect to uſe all the means which ſhould be in his Power. *Beloquin* took courage again, and comforted her ſelf for the unlucky Abſence of the Archbiſhop. The Coadjutor, to perform his Word, caus'd two luſty and ſtrong Men to be call'd, whom he commanded to hold her, and two Midwives, whom he order'd to ſearch her. That ſearch diſcover'd the Cheat, at which the Coadjutor, being exceedingly offended, caus'd the pretended Poſſeſs'd to be put in the Priſon of *Chinon*, and went himſelf quickly after to the ſame Town, where having made an information againſt her, and againſt all the Cabal of her Confederates, he ſent for the Judges of *Richelieu* and *Chinon*,

to

to proceed to Judgment in that matter; which was carried on with so much Vigor, that none doubted but that the Guilty would be severely and exemplarily punish'd. But the sollicitations of the Kindred of the pretended Possessed, the most part whereof belonged to considerable Families of *Chinon* and especially to the Family of the Counsellor *Chesnon*, who was of the number of the Judges; the Orders of Cardinal *de Richelieu*, who desir'd that the Business of the Possession should end without noise, least it should call to Mind what had formerly happen'd. These Orders, I say, and these Sollicitations hindred the Punishment from being so terrible and exemplary, as it would otherwise have been. *Barré* was only depriv'd of his Cure and his Prebend, exil'd out of the Diocess of *Touraine*, and confin'd to the Town of *Mans*, where he kept himself conceal'd to the end of his Life, in a Convent of Monks: And the Maids whom he Exorciz'd, were condemn'd to pass the rest of their days between four Walls.

Sect. 81. Since this Sentence was given, and that it had dissipated that Cabal, there was no further talk of Possession, Exorcism, or Devils. 'Tis true, the greatest part of the Possessed, as well Seculars as Nuns, and even the Superior, being tir'd with the Trade which they drove and the Pains it had given them; they were not displeas'd to see them end quietly, especially when they heard of the fatal Success of the Possession at *Chinon*, which gave them occasion to reflect upon the danger which they had run, if

they had been examin'd with so much Severity and Rigour, as these last. Therefore they receiv'd with Joy the Condition of remaining in quiet, and enjoy peaceably the Riches they had acquir'd by a way so extraordinary and so dangerous. But they were not wanting to manage all the other advantages which they could expect, endeavouring to make profit of the Reputation, which their pretended Possession had procur'd them with all the good Catholicks, whom the Monks persuaded every where, that these good Maids were the most illustrious Examples of Virtue and Piety, and at the same time, of Pains and Sufferings, which had ever been in the World. Which found more or less credit according to the proportion of the distance of Countries. For as in the Neighbourhood of *Loudun* there were but few Towns, from whence there came not a great number of Spectators, to behold the Wonders of that famous Possession, there were also in those Towns a great many Witnesses of the little Edification which they receiv'd, the report whereof gave a great Check to the Relations publish'd by the Monks. But 'twas not so with those who liv'd far off. All the Conversations of devout Persons ran upon this Subject. The Assurance with which the Story was deliver'd to them, and the Character of those who publish'd it, suffer'd them not to doubt of it. The Books which were given them, fill'd with Facts related with the utmost boldness, the Quality of an Intendant, Commissary of the King, by whom these Facts were attested, and the dreadful punishment they had caus'd a Parson to undergo, con-

firm'd

firm'd them entire in their perſuaſion. 'Tis true, that there were few places, where there were not alſo ſome Unbelievers, who told the News of what they had heard or ſeen, but the number of thoſe afar off was ſo ſmall, and the Proofs of the contrary ſeem'd ſo ſtrong, and were after ſuch a manner authoriz'd, that in general all the good Catholicks gave Credit to it; and in particular thoſe of the Province of *Bretagne*, where the People are very ſuperſtitious and credulous, even to that degree, that there was then a Superior of another Order of Nuns, who writ to the Superior of the *Urſulines*, That if ſhe had liberty to diſpoſe of her ſelf at her own Choice, ſhe offered her ſelf willingly to come to *Loudun*, to ſerve the Poſſeſſed who were ſo dear to God and to St. *Joſeph*, and eſpecially to paſs the reſt of her days near the illuſtrious Mother Prioreſs, upon whom God had made ſo great an effuſion of his Graces; in whoſe Perſon there were ſeeen ſo many Miracles wrought, and who had been ſo particularly favour'd by the great St. *Joſeph*, that he had been ſo ready as to come himſelf to aſſiſt at her Recovery, and to bring her a Heavenly Ointment for that effect. So the *Urſuline* Nuns were every where famous; their Reputation flew into all Parts, and Strangers, as well Incredulous, as others, who paſs'd by *Loudun*, fail'd not to go and ſee the Names of *Joſeph*, *Mary* and *Jeſus*, which had been writ by the Devils upon the Hands of the Superior, and the Characters whereof were often refreſh'd by the Miniſtry of her good Angel, who came from time to time to viſit her, and to

perform that Service to her; in acknowledgment whereof she did not fail to give him the Glory of it; for she refus'd not, during a certain time, to shew these Names to all the Curious, whom she took care to entertain with the Visits of that Spirit, and the Favours with which she was honour'd: But at last the Spirit grew weary, or by some particular dispensation, was not able to work that Miracle any longer; Or rather, to speak more intelligibly and more truly, when the wrinkles of old Age had made her Hand dry and lean, the Druggs which were employ'd to renew them, were no longer able to imprint them. The good Mother said then, that God had granted upon her Prayers to suffer those Names to wear out, which were the cause that a Multitude of People came to importune her, and to withdraw her often from her Acts of Devotion.

Sect. 82. If there be any place in the World, where People can well keep a Secret, it is in the Convents, when there is a Concern for the Catholick Party in general, or for the Order, and the Convent in particular. So that one has not been able to learn any thing of the State of the Possessed after the end of the Possession, unless it were, that they made some Verbal Processes of new Miracles, which had been wrought in the Person of the Superior, of one of which there was some Knowledge gain'd by means of the Magistrates who attested them, especially by those who had been sollicited to do it, (as the Counsellor *Tabart*) refus'd notwithstanding to attest one Event, whereof they had not been Witnesses,

and upon the bare Relation of the Mother Prioreſs of the *Urſulines*, who ſaid, ſhe had heard a ſorrowful Voice, firſt in the Dormitory, and then at the Door of her Chamber; where, after many Groans, ſhe ſaw a great dead Body all in Eire come in, who came from Purgatory, whether it were to go into Paradiſe, or to deſire the Succour of ſome Maſſes for his Eaſe: For the Magiſtrates, who refus'd to ſubſcribe that Miracle, and have made that Report, were not ſo exactly informed of all its Circumſtances, as they who ſaw and ſign'd the Verbal Proceſſes which were made thereof. The Superior was exceedingly frighted at the ſight of that dreadful Object, which preſented it ſelf to her. She ran to her Holy-Water-pot, ſhe took Holy-Water and threw it upon the dead Body, to oblige him by virtue of that Water to retire. The Water made the ſame noiſe as when it falls upon a Bar of red-hot Iron. It rebounded upon the Hand and the Cheek of the Superior, where it raiſed ſome Bliſters, the Scars whereof, 'tis not doubted, would have continu'd all her Life time. So conſiderable an Accident which is pretended to have happen'd in the Convent, could not continue ſo conceal'd from the Boarders which were there. There was one who was of a merry Humour, and who apparently was not ſatisfied with the uſage ſhe had receiv'd from the Superior who ſaid, that 'twas very eaſie to make the like Scars; and that ſhe doubted not but that the Superior us'd for thar purpoſe the *Beggars Herb*, a Name which is given in that Country to a certain Herb, with which the Beggars rub themſelves, to make Sores to appear upon their

Bodies,

Bodies, with intent to excite more Compassion, and of which there grew a great quantity in the Garden of the Convent. They were not then able to keep the Secret in that particular, as in the rest of the things which were done to obtain one Day the Canonization of that Nun. One cannot also say any thing of the manner wherein she ended her Days; but 'tis well known what was the End of almost all the Authors and Favourers of the Possession, and of the Witnesses who testified against *Grandier*. We shall not however report here the Particulars, because those kinds of Relations find little credit: Or if there were incontestable Proofs of them, such Events would be ascrib'd to Chance, and to the ordinary course of things of this World. However, were it expedient to enter into a particular Account of them, there would not be wanting Proofs, both within the Country and without, seeing that the greatest part of those People liv'd a long time after the Possession ceas'd, and that the Circumstances of their Death were well known by a number of Persons, yet living at this Day. But, at least, I may be allow'd to quote Monsieur *Patin*, and relate here what he says concerning *Laubardemont*, in his 37th Letter dated at *Paris*, the 22d of *December* 1651. *Page* 130. of the Edition at the *Hague*.

'The 9th of this Month, at nine of the Clock
'at Night, a Coach was set upon by Robbers: The Noise which they made caus'd the Townsmen to come out of their Houses, as well possibly out of Curiosity, as Charity.

'They

'They ſhot on both ſides: One of the Robbers
'having receiv'd a Shot, fell to the Ground, and
'a Lacquey of their Party was ſeiz'd. The others
'fled. The wounded Perſon died the next Day
'in the Morning, without ſaying any thing or
'complaining, and without declaring who he was.
'However he was known at laſt to be the Son
'of a Maſter of Requeſts nam'd *Laubardemont*,
'who condemn'd to death in 1634. the poor
'Parſon of *Loudun*, *Urban Grandier*, and caus'd
'him to be burnt alive, under the pretence
'that he had ſent the Devil into the Bodies
'of the Nuns of *Loudun*, whom they had
'caus'd to learn ſome Tumbling Tricks to
'perſuade Fools that they were Demoniacks.
'May not this be taken for a Divine Puniſh-
'ment of God upon the Family of that
'unhappy Judge? to expiate in ſome manner
'the cruel and merciless death of that poor
'Prieſt, whoſe Blood ſtill cries for Venge-
'ance.

Sect. 83. Thoſe who know the circumſtances of the death of *Mannouri*, and many others of thoſe unhappy Caballers, and in what condition ſeveral of their Families are at preſent, have reaſon, as well as *Patin*, to acknowledge and admire the Judgments of God, and to ſay, that the Blood of *Grandier* has cry'd for Vengeance a long time after his Death, and poſſibly to this very day.

FINIS.

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